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ABSTRACT

This proceedings of a conference convened by the Governor of Pennsylvania explores the impact of Pennsylvania's cultural diversity upon public policy. The following five panel discussions were held: "Conservation of Cultural Heritage Resources: Values and Strategies"; "Culturally Sensitive Delivery of Health Care and Human Services"; "Inter-Ethnic Relations"; "Multi-cultural Education"; and "Ethnicity in Pennsylvania: Looking Ahead." The policy recommendations that are made on each of these topics are included. The texts of the welcoming remarks by Mark S. Singel and keynote addresses by Michael Novak and Niara Sudarkasa also are provided. (DB)

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Governor's Conference on Ethnicity

June 8-9, 1990
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Proceedings

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Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission

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Governor's Conference on Ethnicity

A conference to explore the impact of Pennsylvania's cultural diversity on public policy.

June 8-9, 1990
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Proceedings

Edited by
Shalom Staub

Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

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Foreword

The Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission takes great pleasure in presenting these proceedings for the first Governor's Conference on Ethnicity, held in June 1990 in Harrisburg. This volume will serve as a record of the event and a stimulus for continued public discussion of the many issues we face as a multi-cultural society.

These proceedings include edited transcripts of each speaker's remarks, as well as questions and discussion during plenary sessions. Discussion sessions on ethnicity and public policy have been distilled into the policy recommendations they offered, presented in Section X of the proceedings. Every attempt has been made to insure that these proceedings reflect the statements and intent of conference speakers and participants. Each speaker had the opportunity to review edited transcripts of their remarks, and all conference participants received a set of draft policy recommendations for review and comment. Several speakers took the opportunity to expand or clarify points they had made in their oral presentations, and numerous participants offered insightful comments to the policy recommendations.

These proceedings and policy recommendations will be a particularly valuable tool to the Heritage Affairs Commission itself, as they offer us the guidance of recognized specialists and community leaders. The Commission will seek to establish priorities, strategies and timetables based on these policy recommendations for continued work with other state agencies.

The impact of the Governor's Conference on Ethnicity can be felt in many ways already through a heightened awareness among many state agencies of the importance of considering cultural heritage issues. Commission staff continues to work with such agencies as the departments of Aging, Community Affairs, Education, Environmental Resources, Health, Public Welfare and Transportation, as well as the Council on the Arts, Historical and Museum Commission and Human Relations Commission. The range of issues, all tied in some way to cultural sensitivity, is quite broad.

The origins of this event can be traced back to 1988 when newly appointed members to a restructured Heritage Affairs Commission sought a vehicle for greater public attention to issues of ethnic diversity in our society. Commission members worked diligently to create an internal committee structure which brought focus to issues of conservation of cultural heritage resources, culturally sensitive delivery of health care and human services, inter-ethnic relations, and multi-cultural education. These standing committees, chaired by Tom Jones, David Hufford, Frank Liu, and Andy Chen, respectively, defined their goals broadly, yet with consideration to the particular needs and experiences of particular ethnic communities. We regret the passing of Chuck Cubelic, a valued Commission member who contributed greatly to the early formulation of the multi-cultural education committee.

The conference was many months in planning: conceptualizing, identifying speakers, securing funding support, and innumerable logistical details. Commission members played key roles at all of these stages. The conference would not have been possible without their commitment.

The Governor's Conference on Ethnicity drew nearly three hundred people from a wide array of ethnic and occupational backgrounds. The cultural diversity among conference participants mirrored the broader society, and though participants found much common ground in their discussion of the issues, there was also tension and confrontation. It would have been unrealistic to expect that so many advocates of so many ethnic groups could get together *without* there being some kind of confrontation. What struck people more, as reported in private comments and through conference evaluation forms, was that *there was so much common ground*. The conference helped individuals

build networks of contacts necessary to create broad coalitions. Such coalition building is a required if we are going to meet the challenges of an increasingly multi-cultural society.

I would like to express my gratitude to Governor Casey and Lieutenant Governor Singel for their personal commitment and leadership which helped make this conference possible.

I would like to acknowledge the hard work and commitment of the many individuals who helped to make the Governor's Conference on Ethnicity a reality. A special word of thanks goes to Jean Greco, who served as Conference Chairperson and facilitated the many conference arrangements. Recognition must be given to Suzanne Stallings, PHAC intern, Jacqueline Y. Clark, PHAC secretary, and Gina McBean, Special Assistant to the Lieutenant Governor.

We owe a special thanks to the moderators and speakers, and to the eight individuals who ably led the discussion groups on ethnicity and public policy:

Michael D. Blum, Nationalities Service Center, Philadelphia

Debbie Darden, Division of Park and Resource Planning, National Park Service

Elaine Eff, Cultural Conservation Program, Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs

M. Mark Stolarik, Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies

Jerome Taylor, Institute for the Black Family, University of Pittsburgh

Vuong Gia Thuy, Indo-Chinese American Council, Philadelphia

David E. Washburn, Multi-Cultural Education Center, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania

Monsignor John Yurcisin, American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese

I would also like to thank Adam Knobler and Jennifer Gardner of the Commission staff for their unfailing efforts during the arduous process of transcribing and editing these proceedings; PHAC staff members Amy Skillman, Doris Dyen and Adam Knobler for their helpful comments during editing; and the staff of the Community Affairs press office for their assistance in preparing this volume for publication.

Shalom Staub
November 1, 1990

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309 Forum Building
Harrisburg, PA 17120
(717) 783-8625

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The Governor's Conference on Ethnicity was co-sponsored by the Pennsylvania Departments of Aging, Commerce, Community Affairs, Education, Environmental Resources, Health, Public Welfare and Transportation; the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Human Relations Commission, Commission for Women, Advisory Commission on Latino Affairs, Council on the Arts, Office of Cultural Advisor, Office of Attorney General, Public Television Network, and State System of Higher Education.

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Welcoming Remarks

Lt. Governor Mark S. Singel

Good Morning, everybody. I deeply appreciate your being here. As Chairman of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission, I welcome you to the first Governor's Conference on Ethnicity. My observation is that this event is already a resounding success. Just to have a gathering of this caliber and diversity of academicians, scholars, practitioners and people who are dedicated to issues of ethnicity and culture in Pennsylvania is a tremendous accomplishment.

Before I do anything else, let me stop and thank all of you who played a part in making this happen, particularly the members of the Heritage Affairs Commission who are with us today and who are listed in your program documents, and Dr. Shalom Staub, the executive director of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission, his very capable staff including Amy Skillman and Doris Dyen, Jean Greco who served as Conference Chairman to oversee the many local arrangements, and so many people who worked so hard to put this together. I'm very confident that this is going to fulfill every expectation that you have. I know we're going to enjoy each other's company for the duration of these two days.

My own position has always been that Pennsylvania is blessed with a rich and diverse cultural tradition. That we have in Pennsylvania a tapestry: a beautiful work of art that is composed of a number of different influences and we're delighted by all of them. But the purpose of this conference is not just to celebrate but also to issue a call for action. It is our hope that the seminars are substantive. It is our hope that we tackle the various issues relating to cultural education and inter-ethnic relations and the array of other topics that are on the agenda for the next two days. Ethnicity is a by-word in Pennsylvania, and I'm proud to gather all of us together in this very special session.

There is another gentleman that deserves the credit and deserves the praise for his leadership and his recognition of the critical role that our diversity of cultures plays in Pennsylvania. When Governor Robert Casey asked me to chair the Heritage Affairs Commission, he made it very clear to me that it was not to be window dressing, not to be a typical showcase where we run a few festivals every year and pat ourselves on the back. It was supposed to be a policy formulating organization, an agency of individuals who are truly concerned with moving their respective communities forward. I'm very proud to say that since the reconstitution of the Heritage Affairs Commission, that's exactly what we've achieved. Today, with this conference, we take a giant step in moving forward in that direction. The English poet and critic, Matthew Arnold said, "I am, above all, a believer in culture." Governor Robert P. Casey is a believer in culture, and it is his leadership and his directions that have allowed us to move forward as rapidly as we have. It is with a great deal of pleasure that I introduce to you Pennsylvania's leading Irish-American citizen, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Robert P. Casey.

Opening Remarks

Governor Robert P. Casey

Thank you very much, Lieutenant Governor Singel. I want to express my thanks and commendation to you and to all of those who have made this event possible. A special word of welcome to everyone in the audience and to all of those who are going to be working here for the next two days on what is surely an outstanding event — an historic event in the life of our Commonwealth.

It's an honor for me to be here to welcome all of you, leaders in communities from throughout our Commonwealth who are interested in reflecting on the diversity that makes this such a great state and the relevance of that diversity to current issues and problems, and to the future of this Commonwealth and our children. We share many values. We have a commitment to ideas like justice and equal opportunity and basic respect for the unique heritage of our families.

This conference is a tangible reflection of our shared belief that state government is representative of all the people, sensitive to their needs and proud of their diversity. And state government should be the leader of efforts and policies designed to be responsive and sensitive to that diversity in the execution of public policy. I think these are some of the things you will be talking about over the next two days. We have, of course, great reason to celebrate our diversity. And tomorrow evening we'll be honoring five of our fellow citizens who have encouraged and enriched the celebration of that diversity.

Much of your work over the next two days focuses on how we can foster better understanding, better communication, among our many different voices. I can't think of a more important task. And it comes at a unique time in our history. We witness events all across the globe that a few short years ago would have seemed impossible. From the dramatic crumbling of walls in eastern Europe to the cry for democracy by the Chinese students. Perhaps even more remarkable, the continuing erosion of apartheid in South Africa, the gradual collapse of a system rooted in racial differences and ethnic hostility. But the struggle to create equality and freedom for all people continues not only in South Africa and China and eastern Europe, but right here in Pennsylvania.

That is a sad commentary in many respects, because we have worked very hard to fight prejudice and injustice in this Commonwealth. Indeed, we are a Commonwealth which led the world toward the idea of tolerance and diversity. That was the ideal, the very central notion of the holy experiment that William Penn began here over three centuries ago. As a Quaker, he was very much a minority in his native England. He became a true pioneer in advocating the central value of a pluralistic society. So his is another lesson we must return to today and tomorrow, because we still see intolerance in our midst. We still see bigotry and hatred and fear and violence because of racial and ethnic differences. We see even renewed activity by the Ku Klux Klan in parts of Pennsylvania. Small as their numbers may be, they spread a hatred, a hatred which has no place in the Pennsylvania family.

We see growing racial tensions on some of our college campuses. We see more examples of racially and ethnically motivated violence and intimidation in some of our neighborhoods. Across the globe we can see people once jailed as dissidents now speaking out as leaders of newborn democracies, speaking out against repression and against racism. And we, too, must speak out against these divisions that remain among us here at home. We must condemn violence and reject intimidation, repudiate bigotry and denounce prejudice in all of its forms against any person or any group. Because that is not the Pennsylvania that we know and love. That is not the kind of Pennsylvania our parents and grandparents built and handed down to us. And that is not the kind

of Pennsylvania we want to leave to our children. The Pennsylvania we want to build is one where we love each other more and fear each other less; a Pennsylvania which in those immortal words judges people by the content of their character and not the color of their skin. That is the Pennsylvania we both want to see our children and their children inherit because we are indeed all created equal. And these are not just words on a page, but words to live by — all people, all colors and languages from all nations and backgrounds. We are one Pennsylvania family, with the same hopes and the same dreams and the same strong and burning desire to build a better life for our children in a state and nation and a world which, like a family, embraces every member with love and support, with dignity and respect.

I want to salute the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission for creating this historic event. I want to thank all of you for being a part of it. I know that the next two days will mark an important moment in the life of the Commonwealth and the future of all of its people.

Opening Session

Overview: Governor's Conference on Ethnicity

Shalom Staub

Shalom Staub is Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission.

The goal of this Governor's Conference is to examine ethnicity and public policy — not just to identify problems and inequities, but to begin looking for solutions.

Our cultural heritage (a mosaic, a patchwork, a tapestry — but not a melting pot) is made of the histories, aspirations, values, beliefs, and ways of living shared within communities whose roots extend around the globe. This heritage is not only a resource of intrinsic value to conserve but also a human resource which can contribute to social action and provide solutions to the dilemmas we face.

This conference is not an academic exercise; our goal is to identify critical issues facing the communities of our Commonwealth and begin to craft practical strategies to respond. We are looking for recommendations to bring to policy makers and program administrators. Based on our collective familiarity with communities, we all have the opportunity to offer well-informed suggestions which may later develop into policy and program initiatives.

In order to achieve this end, this conference is organized around four broad themes:

- Values and Strategies for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage Resources
- Culturally Sensitive Delivery of Human and Health Services
- Inter-Ethnic Relations
- Multi-Cultural Education.

Four plenary sessions, through today and tomorrow morning, will develop these themes through the perspectives of community leaders, educators and practitioners. Take your ideas and questions from these sessions to tomorrow's discussion groups, and in those discussions on ethnicity and public policy, prepare questions and issues to take directly to senior administration officials during the afternoon's policy forum.

Despite our professional tendencies to specialize, focus, and carve out little cubby-holes of interest and activity, this conference is designed to look at the big picture. Look around you; gathered here are people from many different ethnic backgrounds and from many professions: health care, social services, education, historic preservation, law, clergy, planning, tourism, human rights activists, business, academic scholars and students. Our diversity here is a resource. We need to hear each other. Ethnic community members seek to give voice to their particular concerns. Practitioners search for the tools and materials they need to better serve their varied constituents. Academic scholars have research and resources that could contribute to public policy discussions, but they do not necessarily have an established forum in which to present their ideas and strategies. Policy makers and program administrators can benefit from their interaction with community members, practitioners, and scholars, but perhaps more importantly, they offer practical knowledge of how new ideas can best be implemented in existing governmental structures.

For the Heritage Affairs Commission and its staff, the end of this conference will begin a new chapter in our work to effect more culturally sensitive policies throughout state government. We plan to issue a published document which will present our speakers' and participants' perspec-

tives and recommendations. We are videotaping the conference proceedings to provide for broad access to our discussions beyond the immediate event.

But before we offer a culturally sensitive solution to our society's problems, we need a framework for understanding ethnicity: what are its roots? What historical forces have shaped our society's cultural make-up? What is the nature of inter-group relations? What is the impact of our ethnicity on our lives?

I am pleased to present to you in this opening session two nationally recognized scholars whose work bears on the subject of ethnicity in America and Pennsylvania.

Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Critical Appraisal

Stephen Steinberg

Stephen Steinberg is Professor of Urban Studies at Queens College, City University of New York and the author of The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America.

A student in my class on Racial & Ethnic Minorities told me this story:

A woman invites some guests to dinner, and as she prepared the dinner roast, her guests noticed that she lobbed off a chunk of meat and threw it away. Puzzled by this apparently gratuitous and wasteful act, they asked her why she did that. The question caught her by surprise—she could only say that her mother had always done that. Now, her curiosity aroused, she asked her mother the same question, and got the same answer: her mother had always done that. Determined to solve the mystery, she finally put the question to her immigrant grandmother, who shrugged and said: "The pot was too small."

This story lends itself to different interpretations. One could see it as representing the autonomous workings of culture—generations continuing a practice as a matter of cultural habit, independent of the exigency that gave rise to it. I am inclined to draw a different conclusion: that once culture is denied its material basis, once its "survival value" is in doubt, it is only a matter of time before people begin to ask, "Why do this?" This troubled and troublesome question is often a sign of a deeper crisis, wherein elements of culture that have lost their original function come to be regarded as irrelevant if not dysfunctional, and are modified, compromised, or relinquished altogether.

This is precisely the issue that arises with respect to ethnicity: Can ethnicity in America withstand changing times and circumstances? Is renewal possible, or is ethnicity destined to a gradual but inexorable decline? Any analysis of this issue must begin with the observation that all racial and ethnic groups in America—apart from Native Americans—are transplanted minorities. Their cultures have been ripped away from their institutional moorings in other, usually remote, parts of the world. Can these disembodied cultures survive in the New World, whether in their original or in some reconstituted form, or is the melting pot inevitable? This is the question that has permeated the lives of ordinary people, attempting to strike a balance between their ethnic allegiances and the imperatives of life in their adopted country. The question has also preoccupied generations of ethnic leaders, who have attempted to create a new institutional nexus on American soil that would maintain and resuscitate community and culture. Finally, the question has been debated over several decades by social scientists who come to sharply divergent conclusions.

There is a certain irony in the academic debates over assimilation. Writing at the high point of immigration in the 1920s—when ethnicity was perhaps more pronounced and more salient than at any other time in American history—the Chicago sociologists were unequivocal in predicting that complete assimilation would be the inevitable end-result of this intermingling of peoples. Writing half-a-century later—when these groups had been radically transformed by generations of accommodation and change, and the boundaries between groups more blurred and permeable than ever—a new school or ethnic writers dismissed the melting pot as a myth. Their books had titles that looked *Beyond the Melting Pot*, and that reveled in *The Decline of the WASP* and *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*. Far from "melting," according to these writers, ethnic groups were undergoing and ethnic revival.

In addressing this issue, we must be careful not to posit false dichotomies. In point of fact, there have been opposing trends: an unmistakable, overriding trend toward assimilation, and an equally unmistakable counter-trend involving a heightening of ethnic consciousness. The historian John Higham had it right when he described this as a situation of smaller-and-stronger cores, and larger-and-weaker fringes. Thus, the ethnic revival has occurred at the same time that intermarriage

across racial and ethnic lines has reached epidemic proportions. This very conference provides living proof of the persistence of ethnicity, though I wonder whether we collectively represent a last stronghold against powerful assimilationist forces.

What are these "powerful assimilationist forces" that imperil the ethnic future? In the first place, the origins of American pluralism was of fateful importance. Most pluralist nations—the Soviet Union for example—originated in the conquest and annexation of whole territories, and as recent events demonstrate, all attempts at deracination and Russification have utterly failed. In the case of the United States, however, pluralism evolved through great waves of migration, not of groups as such, but of individuals and families. With notable exceptions, like the Mormons and the Amish, they came not to establish a corporate existence—which was actively discouraged in any event—but to pursue the American Dream, defined primarily in material terms. Although immigrants typically settled in immigrant quarters where a rich, ethnic life flourished, these communities did not have an independent economic base, notwithstanding a thriving ethnic economy. Nor were they allowed to use the public schools to maintain language and culture, as was the case in Canada. Pursuit of the American Dream meant absorbing major parts of mainstream culture, and venturing far outside the ethnic province.

In other words, it was the carrot, not the stick, that provided the major impetus for assimilation. In *World of Our Fathers*, Irving Howe wrote: "In behalf of its sons, the East Side was prepared to commit suicide; perhaps it did." Thus, the paradox: the more immigrants succeeded, the more they undermined the basis for ethnic solidarity and cultural preservation. With economic mobility came geographical mobility, as the successful children of immigrants joined the exodus to the suburbs. Here they often attempted to recreate ethnic institutions, but with far less success. As Francis Fitzgerald shrewdly observed in her book, *City on a Hill*, assimilation is less a melting pot than "a centrifuge that spun them around and distributed them out again across the landscape," depending upon their income. Although it is customary to think of the city as a melting pot, actually it is the suburb that has served as the crucible of ethnic change.

This brings to mind a paper written by a student of mine, a woman in her 50s. She entitled it, "St. Joseph's Day Remembered." St. Joseph's Day was a saint's day that was originally celebrated in the town in Southern Italy from which most of the families in her neighborhood hailed, and it was celebrated all the years that she was growing up. Laborious weeks went into preparing for this event, and for the sumptuous banquet that followed Sunday mass. Unlike the street festivals that are still held in Little Italy when they cart out the food stalls, this event was infused with cultural and spiritual meaning. It was a real communion of family, neighborhood, and church, that connected people to each other, and collectively, to their ancestry and history. However, the celebration waned as people dispersed to the suburbs. Eventually, they tried to resurrect the holiday in the suburbs, but to no avail. This example illustrates the potency of culture when it is integrated into people's lives and is endowed with deeper understanding and meaning. It also suggests the importance of a geographical and social nexus as a prerequisite of cultural maintenance.

From the outset, structural conditions in America were simply not promising for an enduring pluralism. Other factors accelerated the pace of assimilation. The family, the church, and the neighborhood—the institutional pillars of traditional society, and of ethnicity in particular—have all been weakened by the forces of modernity. The mass media and popular culture have produced an increasingly homogeneous national culture, levelling regional as well as ethnic differences. The nation's system of higher education raised the temperature under the melting pot further, as is demonstrated by the much higher rates of intermarriage among the college educated. Insofar as women traditionally functioned as a purveyor of culture in families, the decline of the traditional homemaker has eliminated yet another underpinning of ethnic culture.

And finally, there is the sheer passage of time. Despite continuing immigration flows, increasing

proportions of young people are at least fourth generation. This means that they have no personal relationship through immigrant grandparents to their ancestral homeland. This factor augurs for an even more accelerated pace of assimilation in the future.

I do not mean to deny the obvious. I live in the most polyglot of cities, lecture at the most polyglot of universities, and am mindful of the "gorgeous mosaic" in this very audience. New waves of immigration are adding new elements to this mosaic. Large numbers of descendants of earlier waves of immigration do continue to identify along ethnic lines, at least when interrogated by pollsters. However, there is good reason to doubt the depth, the vitality, and the durability of these residual identities. The clearest evidence of this is the soaring rates of intermarriage across ethnic and religious lines, especially among cohorts of college-educated youth. With the notabie exception of blacks, even racial intermarriage is at surprisingly high levels. No longer can the melting pot be dismissed as apocalyptic nonsense.

This position is not without its critics who charge me with holding a static view of culture. It is wrong they say, to gauge ethnicity by old-world standards. Culture is a dynamic phenomenon, always changing with changing times and circumstances. The cultures that immigrants carried over with them from Europe were themselves transmutations of earlier cultures. It is true, they concede, that the cultures of Irish, Italians, Poles, and others bear little resemblance to their original homeland cultures. But distinctive ethnic subcultures have evolved on American soil in response to the American experience, and this "emergent ethnicity" provides the basis of an enduring ethnicity.

At first blush, this is a theoretically compelling argument. On closer examination, it is a sophisticated exercise in wishful thinking. It manages to rationalize away social truths that are unpalatable, and to bring ethnicity back by redefining it. For example, Michael Novak, a leading apostle of "the new ethnicity," wrote in 1974;

The new ethnicity does *not* entail: a) speaking a foreign language, b) living in a subculture; c) living in a "tight-knit" ethnic neighborhood; d) belonging to fraternal organizations; e) responding to "ethnic" appeals; f) exalting one's own nationality or culture, narrowly construed.

What, then, does the "new ethnicity" entail? For Novak and others, ethnicity is primarily a *subjective* phenomenon. Its major attributes are: a consciousness of kind, a sense of belonging to groups outside the amorphous mainstream, a vague, primordial attachment to one's ancestors. These subjective states can be quite powerful, but do they provide a foundation for a lasting ethnicity, or are they merely residual identities, what Herbert Gans calls "an ethnicity of last resort"?

The ethnicity of the immigrant generation consisted of a whole constellation of historical and cultural factors that influenced how people defined and organized their lives, their important social relationships, the cultural and moral codes they lived by, and their personal strivings and innermost feelings. "The new ethnicity" amounts to little more than isolated fragments of these once-integrated cultures, combined with a repository of memories, sentiments and feelings with little or no connection to ethnic institutions. The new ethnicity signifies, not ethnic renewal, but only a penultimate stage in a long-term assimilation process.

One problem with the metaphor of "the melting pot" is that it projects an image of people falling—or being pushed—into Zangwill's boiling cauldron and dissolving into oblivion. This is a misleading and inaccurate image. Assimilation occurs gradually and incrementally across generations. It is rarely complete. And it does not necessarily involve a fusion into a pre-existing mold, but is, at least in the American situation, an interactive process whereby the so-called "melted" groups actively shape the content of new cultural forms. Indeed, the concept of "ethnogenesis" applies, not to the new ethnicity, but rather to the evolution of an American nationality. The prognosis of the Chicago sociologists is being vindicated by history, though the road to assimilation has been a longer and more tortuous one than they imagined.

My message is not that you should surrender to the inexorable forces of assimilation. On the contrary, assimilation should be adamantly resisted,

not however, because the evolving American, stripped of ethnicity, is, as some have suggested, "a jellyfish American" or "a plastic American," without cultural integrity or moral substance. These caricatures are neither accurate nor helpful. Rather, assimilation should be resisted because ethnicity is still salient and meaningful for large segments of the population, descendants of early waves of immigration as well as more recent arrivals. Not only do they have every right to cultivate their special heritages, but in doing so, they bring diversity and cultural enrichment to the society at large, including these evolving Americans who do not flinch at declaring themselves "just plain American."

There is a danger, however, that in cultivating their special identities and interests, ethnic groups will retreat from the affairs of the community at large. Irving Howe made this point in some rather blunt language at a commencement address at Queens College. No doubt the audience expected a different message from the celebrated author of *World of Our Fathers*. In any event, Howe said:

The ethnic impulse necessarily carries with it dangers of parochialism: the smugness of snug streets as against the perilous visions of large cities, the indulgent celebration of habitual ways simply because they are habitual.... At a time when the fate of mankind is increasingly, for better or worse, an *international* fate, the ethnic community too often shuts its eyes or buries its head while clinging anxiously to received customs—as if their were no more important things in the world than customs!

Howe was reacting against those who would use ethnicity as "a pleasant evasion" from the urgent problems that afflict and imperil this society. Undeniably, there is this danger. But ethnic organizations and communities also have the potential of being constructive agents for change. Ethnic groups keep alive the ideal of gemeinschaft, of people bound together by shared values and common interests. By mobilizing their constituencies, and by bringing their distinctive values to bear, ethnic leaders can infuse our political discourse with humanistic values and conceptions of mutual respect, tolerance, and social responsibility. As in the religious domain, however, ecumenism—not narrow denominationalism—must be the guiding principle.

Ethnic groups have a special responsibility to address the racial divisions that rend and imperil our society. The pluralist doctrine carries with it obligations as well as rights. It confers on each of us the right to cultivate and preserve our ethnic differences. But it should also enjoin us to speak out when pluralism lapses into division and hierarchy. The concept of pluralism is defiled when ethnic boundaries are used to protect or justify patterns of racial inequality.

Horace Kallen invoked democracy in defense of pluralism. Let us also champion a pluralism that enhances democracy.

Ethnicity in Pennsylvania: The Hidden Dimension

Caroline Golab

Caroline Golab is a lecturer in Urban Studies at the University of Pennsylvania and a member of the Heritage Affairs Commission.

Last summer, at an agricultural fair in Berks County, I talked to a farmer with a good German surname. He started telling me about how his family had been farming the same plot of land for over 200 years in the county, how the role of the family fit into the farm, and how all the people in the area went to the same church and did the same kind of farming. Then he went on to discuss his particular philosophy of farming, especially animal husbandry and how you have to be kind to your animals, plant particular kinds of shade trees for them, and how one needs a certain kind of barn to collect the manure so that it can be plowed back into the family garden.

I thought, this is very interesting, but I didn't think anything further about it until I got home and I came across a pamphlet that had been written by a visitor to the United States in the 1790s which talked about the agricultural contributions of the Germans in Pennsylvania. The writer went on to say that there is this unique role of the family and the role that the church plays and how animal husbandry is just one of most wonderful things that these Germans have ever done. They plant certain kinds of shade trees to protect their animals so that they will be beefier and produce more meat or more milk, and the manure is collected in the barn." I read this and I said, "Is this déjà vu"? ! thought, isn't it interesting that someone in 1790 could be writing about a farmer in Berks County in 1990.

I tell this story because the premise I want to offer to you today is different from what Dr. Steinberg presented. It has always been my feeling that we concentrate on ethnicity too much in terms of its material forms and its political forms. We concentrate on the St. Joseph's Day feasts, or the special breads, or the costumes, or the parades, or how many people read the ethnic press, or how many ethnic radio stations are there, or how many now belong to the Sons of Italy or to the Union of Polish Women or the Slovak brotherhoods. This is actually not always a proper and accurate way of looking at this topic, just as the German farmer never really mentioned that he was German (but was very firm about how proud he was to be an American). The pamphlet written in 1790 went on to say something else very interesting: when you look at these German farmers in Pennsylvania, they are so very different from the English farmers, and especially those Scotch-Irish farmers who have no respect for the land and who use it and move on. I thought, here is this gentleman in 1990, more than 200 years on the same plot of ground — here is part of our ethnic heritage in the state that is surviving. But it has lost that ethnic label, the ethnic identification, the ethnic consciousness.

There is a role that the ethnic factor plays in our Commonwealth and our society that transcends ethnic identification, ethnic consciousness, and ethnic labeling. It has everything to do with the immaterial and intangible forms of culture, what the anthropologist, Edward Hall, has called, "the hidden dimensions and silent languages of culture," the things we take for granted and that we don't see. We project and assume that everyone else does it one way, just as the Pennsylvania farmer did not realize how different he was in historical perspective from other farmers in this state and in this country. It is precisely because of these hidden dimensions of culture that ethnicity remains so important for public policy and human resource delivery and health care.

These hidden dimensions take the form of structures that people set up automatically, perhaps not totally aware of what they are doing — the way you're used to doing things because it's the only way you've ever known. It's what has been passed down through parenting and child rearing. It might have even lost its particular ethnic label.

At the University of Pennsylvania several years ago, when "the Fonz" was a big hit on television, the Annenberg School of Communications did a

small project where they asked a series of Puerto Rican, Italian and Jewish middle-class ten to thirteen-year-olds in northern New Jersey, what ethnic group "the Fonz" belonged to. The Jewish kids said he was Jewish, the Italian kids said he was Italian, and the Puerto Rican kids said he was Puerto Rican. The researcher from Annenberg came to me and asked, "What's going on here?" This is part of the hidden dimension of ethnicity: you react to something based on what you know or what you are.

There are also ethnic styles that go without names. Then there are values and attitudes: toward work, toward home ownership, toward voting, toward sex, toward pain, toward sickness, toward the elderly and how they should be treated. These values and attitudes have great implications for public policy, for social welfare and human service delivery. The things we can't see. We assume we are all alike. We have this idea that we are all Americanized because we all shop at K-Mart or The Gap. We all see the Ninja Turtles or view the Disney Channel, and we all eat the same foods: spaghetti and meatballs, egg rolls and tacos. We are all "Americanized," but I don't think we're all homogenized in terms of the intangible, immaterial hidden dimensions of our culture. We are not all identical. We have not all been assimilated at that level, even though we are not identifying ourselves as Italian-American or Polish-American to the extent that we once did.

When we look at Pennsylvania history, there are examples where the ethnic dimension is still so salient, and it has nothing to do with a "new ethnicity" or an old ethnicity or emergent this or that. It is referred to in sociology as "functional differentiation," one of the most unappreciated and misunderstood aspects of the United States history, let alone Pennsylvania history. Approximately 36 million people come to the United States, primarily from Europe, some from Asia, some obviously from Africa, between 1824 and 1924. They didn't just randomly divide themselves up into all kinds of occupations and industries. When we look at the Polish population in Pennsylvania, or the Slavs in general, they were overwhelmingly concentrated in mining and the iron and steel mills. In fact, if we just look at the Poles and the Slovaks together as a whole, 95% of them could be found in three different industries: mining, steel, and meat packing and slaughtering. You look at the Italians that came to this state: overwhelmingly, in public works construction. Those big projects that required large numbers of men at a single point in time and space to build a bridge across the Susquehanna, railroad tracks, wharves and piers in Philadelphia harbor. The Jews, overwhelmingly, predominated in the garment industry. At least 70% of the first generation eastern European Jews in the Commonwealth earned their livelihood in the garment industry.

Such functional differentiation is still pervasive today. We don't see it because we all shop at K-Mart, we all eat the same foods and we all view the Disney Channel. We don't realize, for example, that Poles are so overwhelmingly over-represented as machinists, tool and dye makers, and engineers. I'm often asked a question for a state that has so many Slavic people in it, so many Poles. "Where are they? We don't see them?" When you look at the occupations of Poles as they move up into the middle-class they are not in very visible occupations. How many times in your life do you need to go to an engineer, or someone at Bell Telephone? I'm always glad to point out that Polish and Slovak engineers are over-represented among the engineers who put the spaceship, Columbia, into operation. They are probably not even identifying anymore as Polish and Slovak Americans, but there they are. When we look at the Italians in the state today, they're still overwhelmingly in construction, but now they have their own construction businesses, far more than their proportion in the population. They're also over-represented as architects and in design fields and somewhat in music. The Jews, overwhelmingly over-represented in the medical professions and in law and among comedians in the state. And the Irish, over-represented in law enforcement, law and in politics. That's no stereotype. It's very true.

Similarly, you can look at the newer groups. The Koreans —overwhelmingly in small businesses. You see them on the street corners or in the delis or in the dry cleaning establishments. But they're also very over-represented as physicians,

and surgeons and nurses in the Commonwealth and as musicians. And Asian Americans, in general in the state, overwhelmingly now in sciences, in math. You want to find physicists, you're going to find Chinese Americans and others from Asia. Mohawks and the Iroquois Indians predominate in the high rise steel industry. It doesn't matter whether or not these people are identifying or conscious of their ethnic background or their heritage. The point is, there is a very real ethnic dimension that obviously permeates the state.

Why does this happen? We know much of it is due to historical background and experiences before coming to this country: cultural idiosyncracies or proclivities. Poles and Slovaks had a very weak sense of peer group. The Italians had a very strong sense of peer group. This is probably why the Italians never would work underground in the mines in such isolation, and never in the steel mills where you would work twelve or more hours a day in total darkness without talking to anybody else. My Italian-American friends still tell me that is nearly impossible to get Italians to work all day without talking to someone else. You could send a Pole down there and he would be fine, but Polish men would never work with a needle. That was women's work; these are the cultural attitudes.

It also has a lot to do with employer perceptions about who worked out best and who didn't, and also, perhaps, with competition that you found here when you arrived. There may be very real historical reasons, but it's still an ethnic dimension. Because of the structures that people established it was very easy to pass on the work to your brother, or your uncle, or your son without realizing that you are now perpetuating an ethnic dimension or an ethnic structure. I have a doctoral student who studied the Koreans and found that almost 70% of Koreans in Philadelphia got their first job through fellow Koreans. It's simply an automatically established, informal structure that takes care of a very real problem.

This leads us to look at values and attitudes. A nurse I talked to in a hospital in Philadelphia which services a largely Italian-American, Irish-American and black population commented about how the patients, depending on their background, had to be treated very differently, especially the children. They react to the pain differently. They react to a health giver differently, and they have different relationships with their parents and their families. That's a hidden dimension. It doesn't mean you're going around announcing, "I do this because I'm Italian-American, or black American or Polish-American." But it's a real dimension that affects the delivery of health care.

I think of voting patterns in the Commonwealth. Why do Polish Americans in this Commonwealth consistently have the highest voter turnout? But, oddly enough, they are the least likely to contribute money to your campaign. Different groups relate differently to the political process.

Another case. What about the Vietnamese who encounter the school system and have a nice, friendly, well-meaning teacher pat them on the head and hug them, and the children go home feeling disgraced and don't show up the next day. The teacher and the principal don't understand why, only to find out that the family feels they have been insulted because you pat dogs on the head, not children. Or the teacher who reprimands the Vietnamese child because he won't look at her while she's talking to him. She doesn't realize that in his culture to look at an adult when they are talking to you is an insult. You should lower your eyes out of respect. Because of hidden dimensions there is also a danger of misunderstanding that does not necessarily come from premeditation, but simply because of a lack of understanding the role that immaterial culture still plays in our lives. We've simply lost the ethnic labels for it. Americans are very naive when it comes to understanding what role culture plays, how it is transmitted, and how it persists.

An ethnic dimension persists well beyond ethnic labels, ethnic identification — even beyond intermarriage. It is wrong to announce the demise of an ethnic dimension. Ethnic identity or ethnic consciousness, perhaps, but not an ethnic dimension. When the Italian American girl from south Philly marries the Jewish fellow from the Northeast and they have kids, they don't produce homogenized-Wonderbread-Episcopalian-assimilated-American

children. One of two things happens. They either identify more or less with the intangible culture of one parent more than the other, or sometimes there is more a hybrid form. Such a family often has to do something different, like become Quakers, which is a very common experience. Rather than total assimilation one gets hybrids: A + B and then A1 + B1 or B1 and a C1. And this continues, so that while assimilation is going on in stages I don't know if there's ever going to be a final homogenized totally identical product, especially when we keep introducing new cultures and new groups of people.

The way you relate to you mother, your father, your children, your siblings is very important and has always been the key to the passing on of the hidden dimensions of our culture. We don't know exactly how that happens, but parenting and child rearing are important. However, I think the hidden dimensions are in danger. I am very sympathetic to a lot of what Dr. Steinberg said. I think that the break up of the American family is doing more than anything else to destroy these hidden dimensions. I go around every year in my classes and I ask my students where they are from. Three or four years ago one student that would say, "Oh, I'm from Long Island and Connecticut. My mother lives in one place and my father lives in the other." This past year I went around the room and more than half my students said that, and I went home very depressed. This has become the norm: blended families, and problems with step-sisters and step-brothers, and the phenomenal divorce rate. The women's liberations movement has perhaps done more to put the death knell into the passing on of the hidden dimensions of our culture than anything else. Children are not being raised by mothers. Rather, they are being raised by institutions and day care centers and people of different backgrounds who follow the manual about what you do at this hour of the day. One can't pass on ethnic hidden dimensions in that kind of a setting.

I think then that ethnicity permeates American society through these hidden dimensions, through these structures that we don't realize. It goes beyond the consciousness, and the ethnic identification. It evolves in changes and their hybrids. But I would like to end on a more positive note. In part of my reconnaissance, going around the state for the film project, I came across the Ukrainians who in a sense will tend to contradict everything I have said. I learned that there are more Ukrainians in Pennsylvania today speaking Ukrainian than there were twenty-five years ago, and this has nothing to do with any Ukrainian immigration to the country. The reason is precisely because a group of Ukrainians realized that it is the hidden dimensions that are so important. But they cannot be passed on without the structures, and the primary structure is the family. So what do you do? You set up a social center, a community center. You set up your own day care, your own nursery schools, your own kindergartens, your own social centers and programs of all kinds. You parallel entirely the public sector and you hit the issue at that primary level. So little Janey, or Janina, when she's 18 months or 3 years old, goes to the Ukrainian day care center where there are Ukrainian care givers and they are speaking in Ukrainian and passing on the hidden dimensions of the culture. So much so that Ukrainians are moving into an area of Montgomery County precisely to be near the Ukrainian Center. We have the children there now who are speaking fluent Ukrainian, many of them much better than their parents who never spoke the language in their life.

One needs to ask, how does this happen? I think it finally has to do with the fact that the ethnic dimension is built in to the structure of the United States; it's part of the form. The country is based on a charter group principle wherein one particular group establishes the culture rules and regulations for you: your political system, your economy, your language. In our case, it was the Anglo-Saxon society. One then introduces diversity in various ways: voluntary immigration, involuntary immigration in the case of the slaves, or colonization and conquest in the case of the Mexicans or Puerto Ricans or American Indians. This is the way one automatically builds perpetual ethnic factors into the form of this society. The content can be lost, but the form is always there. You are always going to be different, either in your material culture, which you can lose, or your immaterial culture, which you can also lose. But your historical relationship to the charter group and

that charter society can never be lost. You cannot give someone a history that isn't theirs and you cannot take away from people a history that is theirs.

I remember one time as a child, I asked my father and my grandfather, "What side in the Civil War were we on?" Now remember my family came in 1913. And my grandfather, without batting an eyelash, understood the question and said, "We were on the side of the Whites." By the Whites he meant "as opposed to the Reds." He was referring to the Civil War in Russia in 1921 where there were Whites and Reds. I always remembered that. I was referring to the American Civil War of the 1860s, and I thought, "Wow! I cannot take on a history that isn't mine. My history, like anybody else's, starts at a certain point in this country.

Questions and Discussion

Question: Deborah Moody, Pennsylvania Council of Churches here in Harrisburg. In your comments, Caroline Golab, I've learned a lot about different ethnic groups — the Vietnamese, the Ukrainians and the Polish — but I've not learned or have any of these people here today learned anything about African-Americans. With the rise of racism in our state, I think that leaves your presentation pretty deficient. Is that an intentional thing in your study or did you just not think to include us?

Golab: No, it wasn't intentional. I was not trying to include or exclude anybody. I was just trying to hit on particular themes. There's a lot of groups I didn't mention in this, and I don't think it should be taken personally because I didn't mention Bulgarians or Albanians. I didn't mention the Japanese or a lot of groups. I was trying in twenty minutes to get a point across. It's just very difficult to get everybody in. I'm sorry about that. But, no, it was not intentional.

Question: My name is Hasan Risilia. I am from Albania. I don't have no complaints about Ms. Golab, but I would like to point out something. There are small groups of ethnics that cannot afford to go on 50/50 basis for grants. They do need help to keep their heritage alive. Being that they don't have any help they are vanishing in the melting pot, like you said, and they never are going to come up again. Like you said about the Ukrainians, there are more of them speaking Ukrainian now than before and it's not about immigration because there's no Ukrainian coming from Ukraine now, right? Now I have plenty of Albanians that want to learn their own language but we don't have the ways of helping them out.

Staub: I think, Hasan, you're right that these are the challenges faced particularly by the smaller communities. Caroline's example of the Ukrainians is one of the largest ethnic communities in the state.

Risilia: They can help themselves. They don't need the help of state. But we do. The small ones. Thank you.

Question: I'm Irving Levine, director of the American Jewish Institute for American Pluralism. Dr. Steinberg, I usually disagree with your position in a very powerful way. But you made such a good presentation of your position today that I have to commend you. I still disagree. It strikes me as odd with the world in such great turmoil, where ethnicity and religion, two categories that many Marxist thinkers had eliminated as possible permanent categories, that we should still be deluded by the idea that these forms not only will melt but will become less forceful in future society. So whereas your colleagues in the 1930s, the Chicago school, thought we were moving very quickly to assimilation, you are amending it and saying we are moving very slowly to it. I see that Caroline Golab has put her finger on some of the most important factors in what we are thinking about in ethnicity. We are talking about the psychological dimension which I find almost totally absent from sociologists' analysis. The psychological dimension is extraordinary, and yes it gets diluted with generations, but it also gets reinforced. Aren't we looking at a cyclical thing rather than a straight line? Aren't we looking at a society that moves from tribalism to universalism, back to tribalism, back to universalism? Isn't this the pattern, and isn't it different for different groups at different stages of their history? And don't we have to analyze all straight line ideas because we're always shaken up, we're shaken up after 75 years of communism, we're shaken up after 200 years of political democracy in the United States. And our ideas about what is acculturation, what is assimilation when along comes a racial revolt of enormous proportions in the United States?

As a Jew, I'm more impacted now by my children going to a Hebrew Yeshiva and learning the language and the ritual. They are more like my grandparents in terms of their belief systems,

their practices and their ritual than they are like their parents or their grandfather. I am saying that the distinctions between the life of my grandchildren are more like the lives of *my* grandparents than they are of their parents and their grandparents. That's how extraordinary revivalism could be. Now why are you so pessimistic about the possibility?

I happen to agree with you, by the way, when you talked about the issue of a small militant group really being into ethnic identity and a large group being very flat, not involved. But take the hidden dimension and label that, Caroline, not just a hidden dimension but the very essence of the psychology of group identity. Group identity and ethnic identity is the hidden dimension as well as whatever is more conscious. I got my speech in. What do you think, Dr. Steinberg?

Steinberg: One thing that I knew is that I would hear from you. No, I think my position is not a straight line theory, but a jagged line theory. As you acknowledge, and as I said, different things happen simultaneously that appear to be in contradiction and may be a reaction to each other. It is as though some people peer into the melting pot in horror, recoil and reclaim their ethnicity and go back. I don't think your children are the wave of the future or the overriding trend. What interests me is the way my fellow social scientists have sharpened their methodological tools and devised new concepts to uncover ethnicity. They look harder than they used to, which is part of the whole phenomenon. These strategies feed into the notion of ethnic revival. It used to be that marrying outside, exogamy, was taken as the ultimate indicator of group breakdown. Now they interview the spouses of these couples and the children and they just discover that finally the Reform branch of Judaism has decided, "Well, we haven't lost one when we've gained one." And I think they are really stretching the meaning of ethnicity, and one has to wonder what the connection is historically and culturally to the past. The simplest and most concise definition of assimilation which I've seen is the destruction of memories, and apropos of something that Caroline said, I'm just astounded talking with my students about how little they know about their past and especially of people of European descent, how the historical connection was truncated and very little is known. Paradoxically in the case of some other groups, Puerto Ricans have a much more proximate relationship to their homeland. Blacks are much more knowledgeable; the claims about culture and family are much stronger because they have been here on American soil and much more in touch through their relatives and ancestors to their own history, not some other history which seems remote and foreign. It seems to have the richest of family and cultural heritage which is integrated their lives. I mean they're not contrived, they're not sent to language schools in special programs. It's just naturally a part of their family upbringing.

Question: Phyllis Alexander, I live in Allentown. I think this might end up as a question, but we'll see. I've been having a physical reaction to your statement that the women's movement was the death knell for the passing on of our culture. At least that's what I heard you say. My heart is pounding, and my stomach is twisting, and I know it's because I'm resisting that information. My experience is that the women I know work because we need to feed ourselves, we need to feed our children. I know mostly African-American women and we were working before the women's movement. I believe the women's movement, it has been my experience, has empowered us to get equal wages, or at least to ask for that, to resist sexual harassment and that sort of thing. But it has not put us in the workplace for some sort of frivolous activity, like we needed something to do to kill the time, or whatever. So I just needed to state that and encourage some additional response from you.

Golab: You're absolutely right, but I think that's true not only for Afro-American women but so many other women. I'm not disparaging the women's movement, but I am just saying that I think a consequence of it for a large portion of American families is the breakdown in the continuity of those hidden dimensions of the culture. When your children are being raised by people of a different group, many of whom are following the manual from the day care center, they are not picking up the nuances about how to relate to people,

what values to have when this particular incident happens. It just can't. I think a lot of women don't want to hear that, especially if you are proud of your heritage. But then I think you see the positive side to it is that there is the alternative like the Ukrainians. I also know Korean groups in Philadelphia that are doing the same thing for the same reason. They didn't like the day care institutions in the larger world because it just didn't have the nuances. They weren't disciplining the children the way the Korean mother and father and family would. They weren't explaining to the children in the proper polite way when a question was asked. So what do you do then, you form your own primary unit, your own Korean day care institution run by Koreans so that this can be passed on. So I think it's a double-edged sword, if you ask me.

Steinberg: May I make a comment. I don't want to be construed as an anti-feminist. Because my point is that women as traditionally defined, and in their traditional roles were the purveyors of culture in the family, and this has been somewhat disrupted by the new family. I don't mean this to be a judgement that women therefore are to go back or to somehow bear collective onus or shame because this is the problem. I mean partly as Caroline was saying, I think is a matter of brute social fact that women were the ones who developed the culture of the family, who planned the feasts and celebrations. I was astounded to find out in a course which I taught in community at Queen's College that none of my students even had dinner at home. The family dinner is a thing of the past. I have many Italian students do papers on the changing Sunday dinner in Italian families of the cross-generations which in a way epitomizes ethnic change as well as family change. The answer to this problem, which I think reaches into larger issues of child rearing and socialization, is not the return of the traditional woman, but that the family, men included, somehow has to reshape the arrangements and the institution of the family. There has to be more shared responsibility of men and women in the upbringing of children, and more attention, more conscious attention given to these deficiencies which exist today in families. I keep thinking that the vitriolic novels that will be written by the children of our generation will make Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint* look tame.

Plenary Session I

Conservation of Cultural Heritage Resources

Tom Jones

Tom Jones is a professional preservation consultant, having formerly served as the Preservation Planner for the City of Easton. He is a member of the Heritage Affairs Commission and chairs its committee on conservation of cultural heritage resources.

There is a lot going on in Pennsylvania in the area of cultural conservation. We have a lot to be proud of, but we also have a lot more to do to conserve both our ethnic and work place heritage that stretches across the Commonwealth from Philadelphia to Erie down to Pittsburgh all the way to the Northeast of our state. I'd like to call attention to the policy that was adopted by the Commission that is in your information packet. It is titled "The Conservation of Cultural Heritage Resources." It is very important for you to read over these series of statements that were adopted by the body of the Commission. And they indicate the attitude and the intent of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission in terms of conservation of cultural heritage resources, not only currently but in the future.

Much of this philosophy was derived from something that's been occurring on the federal level, initiated in a report entitled, *Cultural Conservation: The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the United States.* The term "cultural conservation" is a phrase that is being used for a developing integration of varying disciplines, such as historic preservation, planning, anthropology, and folklife studies.

Cultural conservation essentially focuses attention on the heritage of a specific place or group addressing not only the tangible: the built form or the artifact that many of our museums and many of our historical societies strive to protect, historical records, that historic structure down the street where the first immigrant was housed, or a significant person lived. Cultural conservation also strives to work with the ongoing flow of cultural activity which represents the continuity of a specific work place heritage or ethnic group.

The purpose of the discussion this morning is to start talking about areas that are related to cultural conservation of the resources within the Commonwealth.

Alan Jabbour

Alan Jabbour is Director of the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress.

I was speaking earlier with Brent Glass, executive director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and he told me an interesting story which I'm going to tell the rest of you. Lech Walesa was visiting Pennsylvania not long ago and the Governor's Office called Dr. Glass trying to locate some suitable objects to present to Walesa as a visiting dignitary to the state. The Commission reproduced and framed some documents that were suitable representations of Pennsylvania history. But in talking to one of his museum directors around the state, Brent brought up the subject and asked, "Do you have any ideas for some other kind of gift we could give to Walesa? Something ethnic, maybe?" As it happened, the person to whom he was talking was Polish. And the gentleman reflected a little bit and said, "You know what I would like to give him, as a personal gift, not as a museum director? My grandfather was a miner here in one of these mining towns in Pennsylvania, and we have his old miner's lunch pail, and I would be pleased and honored if the Governor thought it suitable to present to Lech Walesa." The lunch pail was added to the list of items presented to Walesa, and of course he was both surprised and delighted to receive it. No doubt it was a moving and powerful symbolic moment when that lunch pail was presented to him to go back to Poland.

What struck me when I heard this story from Brent Glass was, what kind of a symbol is it? Is it an ethnic symbol? He had asked for something ethnic and the lunch pail was what was provided. In a way it was an emblem of ethnicity, in that it was going from a Polish-American to a Polish visitor as a symbol of ethnic connection. On the other hand, the miner's lunch pail is an occupational symbol — a symbol of the whole way of life that surrounded mining. Thus you could say that culturally it wasn't ethnic but occupational. And furthermore, it was associated with a place, that mining town here in Pennsylvania. So you might argue that it had important regional as well as occupational and ethnic layers of association.

I tell this story to bring home a point: culture is a complex thing. It's very hard to sort out exactly what it is and to put one's finger on it precisely to talk about it. You might say that one component of the totality of culture is ethnic. Another component is occupational, related to the work we do. Another component is religious; another component is regional. Looking at culture dynamically, many of these components are not discrete. They flow into one another, merging and diverging again; you can hardly tell where one leaves off and the other begins.

Many of my friends ask me about ethnic traditions in the South, specifically about Cajun culture in Louisiana. They talk about Cajuns ethnically, and, indeed, Cajun culture is a strong ethnic culture in the state of Louisiana, particularly in the southwestern part of the state. On the other hand, Cajun culture has also assimilated a lot from the region. To Parisians, it sounds very provincial when they listen to the French, yet when they listen to the music, it sounds very American. To an American it sounds very interestingly different, curious, and "ethnic." Culture is complicated; it is very dynamic in the way it flows through these different categories that we create.

I have to offer a footnote now on the conversation in the earlier session. I am what you might call a "Syrian cracker." My father was from Syria and my mother was from rural North Florida. It wasn't through my household that I received most of whatever ethnic culture I received from my father. It was from going with him to our grocery store and working with him in the workplace. He was at the workplace so long that there was a lot more time for the transmission of culture there than at home. I hope that in the future young girls follow their mothers to work just like I followed my father to work. It is a false distinction, I think, to talk about the home as the only locus of culture and to talk about women as the only purveyors of culture. Culture is much more complicated than that. I look forward to seeing women following their mothers to work and assimilating culture from them that way as well.

Finally, I want to add one more level of complexity. If you look at an ethnic group as your point of stasis, you see change occurring in it and

you worry. Is it holding still or changing? And is the change occurring dynamically within the group, or is the group just assimilating to some undifferentiated, generalized state of human being?

Cultural flow is often continuous when it looks like it's changing. For example, if you look at black culture in the Upper South in the 18th and early 19th century, you see that the banjo is an important ingredient. It was brought here from Africa to the New World, further developed here, and it was clearly a strong component of African-American culture in that region during that period. But then during the 19th century two things happened. The banjo switched over from blacks to whites; whites imitated blacks and borrowed it. And after the Civil War, blacks more or less gave up the banjo and went on to other instruments — primarily the guitar and piano — in the late 19th and early 20th century.

So looking at the ethnic group, you see change going on. But looking at the banjo as an instrument, you see it flowing right along. There are whites now in the Appalachian region who play a style of banjo that is preserving very scrupulously an African-American tradition from an earlier period. Culture flows in many ways. As we concentrate on ethnicity we have to remember this larger picture of the flow of culture that crosses ethnic boundaries without simply assimilating into no culture at all.

We may see culture, then, as dynamic and developmental rather than static; complex rather than simple, even at the level of individuals and small communities; multifaceted rather than unitary, in that it expresses itself simultaneously in ethnic, regional, occupational, and religious modes; and free rather than fixed, in that cultural expressions are capable both of representing a group and of being shared between groups. A cultural system, in fact, can be compared with a complex, dynamic, permeable ecosystem in the natural realm. If we entertain such a view of culture, our view will affect the ways we go about protecting and promulgating it.

The metaphor of the ecosystem brings me finally to the subject of cultural conservation. The phrase "cultural conservation" was invented in the early 1980s. It was invented for a variety of complicated reasons, but I'm presenting it for your consideration, not as a term to substitute for your own special missions, but as an umbrella which can bring you all together and bring you together with others who espouse yet other missions. Cultural conservation came about as a phrase because the American Folklife Center was asked by Congress to prepare a report on "intangible elements of culture" and their relationship to the preservation mission of the federal government. Well, you can't do a report on intangible elements of culture — you can, but you don't want to title it as such, because calling something intangible is defining it negatively, calling it what it is not. Thus "cultural conservation" became our key phrase and the title of our policy study when it was finally published in 1983. Since then, I am happy to report, I have noticed evidence that the phrase is catching on.

We used "cultural conservation" as an umbrella term to try to connect together all of the different efforts in the cultural arena today: the efforts of different ethnic and regional groups working at the grassroots; the efforts of historic preservationists working to preserve material culture, buildings, historic districts, and the like; the efforts of folklorists like me to preserve fiddle tunes and stories and other aspects of intangible culture. All these efforts have had the virtue of special focus, but the disadvantage of being fragmented. In effect, everybody has been taking little pieces of the whole cultural pie and nibbling away at them. That might be helpful in some ways, but it also is helpful to look at the whole cultural mission and to think of a larger alliance of everybody working together. We felt that there was too much segregation of the cultural effort into little pigeon holes.

In addition to its use as a comprehensive phrase for uniting the various facets of the cultural mission, "cultural conservation" has the virtue of resonating with the growing national and worldwide concern for natural conservation. When we chose the phrase, we were conscious that the term "preservation" is sometimes felt to be a bit static. Preserves are pickled, fixed in an environment outside their normal habitat, and at many levels Americans respond to the word

"preservation" with this sense of the prevention of change. "Conservation," at least to my ear, has more the connotation of maintaining a dynamic stability. In nature, life is dynamic; a tree must grow and die, yet the forest as a whole can be conserved.

There is another reason that the resonance of "cultural conservation" with the conservation of nature is attractive. We are increasingly coming to realize that conservation of nature cannot be considered apart from cultural considerations. Put simply, nature includes human nature. The American Folklife Center explored this fascinating aspect of cultural conservation in a project in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve. The project persuaded us, not only that cultural traditions should be weighed together with natural resources in the long-range planning for a region's conservation, but that considering them together was workable as a practical matter and stimulating as a professional enterprise. I know that similar considerations are emerging in Pennsylvania as it begins to encourage long-range planning for certain heritage areas.

From all these thoughts emerges a challenge for the coming decade. In the cultural realm, we need to link the several networks, disciplines, and special mission areas that now occupy our energies. Preservationists, folklorists, planners, advocates of ethnicity, arts and humanities organizations, historical societies — all these have their special roles, but at the same time they need to think and work with a greater sense of integration into the larger cultural mission. For me, at least, "cultural conservation" is a comfortable umbrella under which we all can work. And if we are able to integrate our cultural efforts, the next key step is to link with the efforts of the conservation movement, which, after decades of thinking of nature as separable from humankind, is just beginning to see the critical cultural ramifications of its mission. It will all take a good deal of thinking, conversing, and planning; but in my judgment we are ready to work more closely together, and doing so will help us better realize the goals that motivated us in the first place.

John Hostetler

John Hostetler is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Temple University and Director of the Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups at Elizabethtown College.

The Amish came to this country about 250 years ago from Germanic-speaking countries. They have resisted modernization more successfully than many groups, and by moderating the influences of industrialization on their personal lives and families, they have not yet disappeared in the melting pot. Earlier in this century they were regarded as a stubborn sect, living by oppressive customs, exploiting the labor of their children. They opposed many things which were called progress. They would not take government subsidy payments. They would not fight in wars, not even World War II. They were seen as backward, dumb, and a drag on the local economy. But all that has changed.

Today, most people have no argument with the Amish for doing things the old fashioned way. They are looked upon as meticulous farmers, practicing the virtues of thrift and honesty, and minding their own business, and sometimes they are regarded as islands of sanity in a culture which has been gripped by technology and material gain. They have attracted world-wide attention, and visitors flock today to Lancaster County, or drive through it in much the same way that tourists visit game preserves in Africa: camera in hand, hoping to catch a photograph of the illusive wild life. More than 5 million tourists visit Lancaster County each year. Translated into a tourist-Amish ratio, that means 350 visitors for each Amish person in the county.

Thirty years ago, when I was in graduate school, my professors predicted the Amish would be absorbed in 25 years, but the sociologists were wrong. Today, the Amish number about 133,000, whereas they numbered only about 33,000 in 1950. And their cultural energy today is basically healthy, that is, they have the will to live and to continue to live as they do.

Anyone who has traveled extensively around the country can attest that there is nothing that even approaches the unique features that you find in Lancaster County. Clean industry, a unique mix of people, thriving communities, an economy, productive farms, truly exceptional land. The climate found here occurs in only about three locations in the developed world. It is a humbling experience just to look at it. James Michener called this place "elegant, rich, verdant, fruitful." The land has greater productive value than any other non-irrigated county in the nation. This place is home to 55 million farm animals. Agriculture generates nearly $800 million annually. Industry adds another $2 billion, tourism another $400 million. All three economic aspects are inter-related. But agriculture is historically the foundation for this remarkable success. It is not just the land but also the legacy of hundreds of years of farming experience. About 20% of the county's farmers are Plain folk. We are concerned about the future of these communities as our fast-paced society erodes some of their boundaries.

They came 250 years ago to work their farms, build their communities, share their lives and work together in peace. What we have here is a product of a marriage between the world's finest farmlands and some of the world's finest farmers — a brilliant success.

This is a culture and an agriculture which replenishes itself. It does not steal from the earth, nor borrow from the future. The inhabitants not only take crops from the earth but they give back to the earth, year after year. And yet some people think that Lancaster County's unique cultures and farmlands are disposable. They treat it as a commodity. They are caught up, maybe, in the habit of thinking about short term balance sheets, winning the West, or calling all growth, good growth. This land is under assault. Uncontrolled growth, inappropriate growth, is the basic underlying problem.

Every week we read about this parcel of land and that being sold for another shopping mall. A housing development here and a new school there. The county is losing 21 acres each day. That is nearly an acre every hour of every day, 365 days per year. Fifteen thousand acres were earmarked for development in 1987 and 1988. Lancaster County is losing farmland today at a greater rate than did Bucks County, which is now a land of

commerce and congestion. The number of shopping outlets in Lancaster County has grown from 17 to 175 in 6 years. Today, an 84 acre farm adjacent to the village of Intercourse is earmarked for the construction of 94 houses.

This landscape belongs to us all. Are we willing to trade off this sheer beauty and exceptional landscape for miles and miles of shopping pleasures? The mindless forces of greed and idolatry are suicidal, cosmologically deaf, and spiritually dumb. The cultural heritage of Lancaster County has become what it is because of the ethical and religious restraints practiced by the Plain people. Stewardship of the soil, living on the land and loving it, was more important to these people than short-term gains. The inhabitants of the land were afraid of pride, manipulative power, and coercion. They were afraid of publicity and they were also afraid of affluence. Is there any wonder that visitors today who are tired of pleasure, prosperity, competition and the stock market now turn to Lancaster County to see what the homes of their forefathers looked like 100 years ago, and possibly, to reexamine some of their values?

Jonathan Lane

Jonathan Lane is founding principal of Lane, Frenchman & Associates, Inc. of Boston, Mass., urban planners and designers.

It is well recognized that ethnic customs and resources make many of our communities unique by imparting a particular flavor and character, which has evolved over time. But it is less well recognized that such resources can be a means to create value and stimulate the revitalization of some of our older urban centers. The means toward this synergy can be cultural tourism which has taken an increasingly greater importance in every day life.

Like William Hurt in the recent movie, we're all accidental cultural tourists. Whether we experience a culture other than our own, by travel or television, through movement or media or by difference in time or place, we're cultural tourists. Even people convey cultural messages. Although cultural tourism is an ancient activity once enjoyed only by the wealthiest and most educated, at this point we have become a nation, indeed a world, of cultural tourists. Some say that cultural tourism is the world's largest industry, with a 10% yearly growth and many hundreds of billions of dollars of expenditures in the United States.

When I was a young architect I used to think of tourism largely in terms of landmarks and outstanding structures. But I later came to realize that urban settings really are more exciting as representing culture. And a few of those kinds of settings are transparent and provide an immediate guide to the people who built them. For example, the Vieux Carre in New Orleans, which indicates many facets of Creole culture clearly associated with the growth of jazz and music. Or closer to where I live, Nantucket, which symbolizes 19th century whaling and where that culture can be seen immediately. These are bricks and mortar settings which represent people and their endeavors.

Other settings have the power to capture the imagination. Who among us wouldn't recognize Paris and the banks of the Seine and the wonderful French culture. Ironically, this [slide] isn't Paris, it's Disneyworld and Epcot. But for those that have visited it, it does contain much of the human scale in pedestrian activity and interactive qualities that urbanists have been praising for years. And it's immensely successful. Why can't the same principles, which make this type of project and other tourism projects successful, be applied to cities where real culture exists?

Environments have a power to attract us, to communicate with us, and in the process to convey something about our self-image and identity. And the reason environments have this power is that they represent in tangible form stories of the people and culture which created them. I want to suggest to you that ethnic resources and ethnic heritage and the environments which symbolize them, if effectively harnessed and communicated, represent an untapped potential to create venues for cultural tourism as well as to create a consciousness which can help in the very survival of that ethnic culture.

A number of projects of our firm, Lane, Frenchman, and Associates, have attempted to harness this power and to use it as part of a larger revitalization strategy, over thirty of them throughout the Northeast including several here in Pennsylvania. In Lowell, Massachusetts we created a plan for a national park which tells the story of America's first great industrial city. The mills and the canals of the city symbolize the urban industrialization which occurred in the United States in the early 19th century. There are fabulous bricks and mortar artifacts. But the park goes well beyond preservation of bricks and mortar. It interprets the stories of people. People such as the Yankee capitalists who gathered together the money to finance this city. The Irish workers who built the canals as well as many other waves of immigrants who settled the growing the city. Indeed, the story of a place like Lowell is far more than bricks and mortar. It's a story of a culture of workers and residents which has left an indelible imprint in the city. In Lowell, this celebration of the impact of everyday life through the creation of a national park has really transformed the city. It has changed tired out old mills into vibrant centers for reinvestment and new development, attracting over one million visitors a year. I think our ratio is

a little bit better than Dr. Hostetler's. I think we have only 10 visitors for every resident.

Cultural tourism has been used to reinforce the real culture that still remains. For example in Lowell, the National Folk Festival just completed its three-year residence. A new Lowell Preservation Commission which was created with this federal-state effort, provides cultural development grants to buttress existing organizations and resources, from oral histories to traditional crafts and skills. We would like to think that similar initiatives could happen in Pennsylvania through the State Heritage Park Program.

In Johnstown, where we are now working (which incidently will be the new home for the next three years of the National Folk Festival), we have helped local officials to develop a plan which interprets the community's history. What are it's major elements? Well clearly, the flood, which both devastated the community and provided a mechanism and prompting for rebuilding. The steel technology, which is the center of growth in Johnstown as in many places in this section of Pennsylvania. And also local cultural resources, communities, groups, artifacts. Already the flood centennial, which occurred approximately one year ago, has provided an important mechanism to attract former residents back to Johnstown, as well as tourists who are interested in celebrating the city's heritage and to participate in all manner of festivals, events and all really exciting things that have contributed to a rebirth of pride and a rebirth of sense of place.

In the Lackawanna Valley, we are involved in a cooperative planning effort which marries local, state and federal agencies along with the private sector to celebrate the culture of this industrialized valley — to remove some of the scars which mar the beautiful landscape, but which also indicate its coal and mining heritage; to use new investments to make these features more evident; and to make the history and heritage of the communities that were so pivotal in its development really accessible to residents and visitors alike. The Lackawanna Valley Heritage Park will lean on existing resources to tell this story. The first of them will be a national site, the Steamtown National Historic Site, which will tell the story of the rail center which developed in the Lackawanna Valley and its importance to the development of the valley and the region and country. Secondly, McDade Park, a major state and county resource will tell the story of coal mining, how coal was extracted, and allow people to go down into an existing mine. Lastly, the iron furnaces will also provide a sense of the rich heritage. But it goes beyond that. The network of resources in the Lackawanna Valley include, for example, churches, neighborhoods, ethnic groups, in real profusion. It is very interesting that there is tremendous rich ethnic heritage which is evident not only in publication and scholarship, but also in our inventories — a tremendous centrality of ethnic groups on the landscape and in very close conjunction to these physical and natural resources that we want to preserve.

The plan will create venues for activities, not only celebrating the artifacts, but also ethnic celebrations and festivals which happen today, which will continue to be a major feature in the valley over time.

It is our hope that these kinds of projects, building cultural tourism and using local roots and resources and ethnic strengths, can be really pivotal in turning around parts of the state which have not shared in overall prosperity. Wouldn't it be ironic and wouldn't it be exciting if local culture, long overlooked and spurned by mainstreamers would turn out to be the mechanism to bring a midas touch to some of our older cities and resources?

Trude V. Check

Trude Check is a founding member of the Slovak Heritage Society of Northeastern Pennsylvania, a grass roots organization dedicated to the preservation of Slovak culture.

There are many recorded examples of individual Slovaks who played important roles in the development of the United States. Some of our ancestors arrived here soon after the Civil War but most came during the great wave of immigration. Slovaks in the New World clustered together as any group with a common language would. Their focal point was a house of worship. The oldest Slovak Roman Catholic church and the oldest Slovak Evangelical Lutheran church in the Western hemisphere were established in the Hazleton area over 100 years ago. Parochial schools were begun and fraternal societies for mutual assistance rapidly came into being.

The period between the World Wars was a time of great interest in Slovak literature, plays, musicals, folk songs and dances, and gymnastic performances. In 1936, the area hosted a delegation from Matica Slovenska (the Academy of Slovak Arts and Letters) on their tour of the United States.

World War II and the mobility of the 1940s loosened family and ethnic ties. The idea of the "melting pot" discouraged or outrightly ignored ethnic identification. Every day use of the Slovak language declined, except for small family units and the churches, as the practical need to switch to English intensified.

For the most part, the traditions of our people have been transmitted orally. Great assistance in this regard was also rendered by the publishing organs of the various fraternal insurance groups, the Slovak League of America and by the literary guilds of Slovakia.

The trend toward assimilation of ethnic groups was reversed by a purely American celebration — our country's Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence. Seemingly overnight, courses in ethnic studies proliferated at colleges and universities. Northeast Pennsylvania, which contains some 42 identifiable ethnic groups, was a particularly fertile area for such studies.

Festivals, symposia, and a wide range of educational activities were launched. There was a demand for groups to sing from the wealth of our folk and sacred music. Folk dance groups were also needed, and the stories of the early immigrants had to be preserved before they were lost forever.

This re-awakened interest in our heritage precipitated the formation of the Slovak Heritage Society of Northeastern Pennsylvania, since there was no local existing organization prepared to assume a leadership role.

In 1974, I taught several Slovak language classes for beginners at King's College and also at Sacred Heart Slovak Church in Wilkes-Barre. This is the historic church of Rev. Joseph Murgas, the "Radio Priest," whose patents were used by Marconi and who was the first to successfully transmit radio signals across land from Wilkes-Barre to Scranton on November 23, 1905.

A costumed folk-singing group which I directed first performed in Harrisburg in 1975 at the William Penn Museum as part of the opening celebration of the special exhibits launched in connection with the Bicentennial.

The Slovak Heritage Society was then formally organized. Our by-laws state that the Society "promotes an awareness of the Slovak heritage and culture among all people by means of education and social interaction." The Society is similar to many of the regional ethnic societies and organizations scattered throughout the United States, and it is also unique. Although relatively small in membership, it exerts an influence which extends far beyond the region. It serves as a focus for American-Slovak cultural activities and affairs. Members are mostly second, third and fourth generation American-Slovaks, so the heritage we seek to preserve is quite removed from direct personal experience.

Some of the strategies we use for conserving our cultural heritage resources are:

1. A regular program of Slovak language studies in Wilkes-Barre, Hazleton and Scranton.
2. A twice-yearly lecture and film series.

3. Classes in ethnic food preparation and traditional crafts of egg-dying and counted cross-stitching.

4. A Folk group called SPEV and a choir which have produced four recordings of our sacred and folk music under our own label.

5. Sponsoring students studying Slovak language and literature at Comenius University in Bratislava, the capitol of Slovakia.

6. Producing major musical programs for two Slovak World Youth Festivals to represent the American youth.

7. Staging ritual re-enactments of the Slovak Easter and Christmas traditions. One particularly memorable one was for the Commission at their regional conference about three years ago.

8. Establishing a working relationship with the Academy of Slovak Arts and Letters approximately ten years ago. The Academy has generously supplied us with language texts and other printed materials.

9. Hosting, particularly since the Gentle Revolution, a great many visitors from Slovakia representing the Academy, the Educational Ministry, and the Academy of Science at Comenius University.

10. Regular participation in the Eckley Museum Patchtown days celebration held each June. Our vice-chairman is president of the Eckley Museum Board.

11. Performing whenever there is a request for a Slovak presence at festivals, banquets, conventions, liturgies, etc.

The Slovak Heritage Society is fortunate to be able to function in the kind of community in which we live — a community which is particularly ethnically diverse. We believe that we work well together with the other ethnic groups.

Witness our regular participation in the second largest folk festival in our state, the Luzerne County Folk Festival held every October. Last year it drew nearly 20,000 people.

The Festival began in 1975 as a way to involve the local ethnic communities in Bicentennial activities. Under an advisory committee comprised of a representative sampling of the established leaders in the various ethnic organizations, they recognized that our region had maintained strong ties to their national heritage through membership in nationality churches, fraternal organizations, ethnic social clubs and musical groups.

The early sponsor was the Luzerne County Tourist Promotion Agency. In 1986, the independent, non-profit organization, the Cultural Heritage Council of Northeastern Pennsylvania was incorporated for the purpose of the Festival and related activities. One of our Board members sits on the Board of Directors.

Three distinct areas have been created within the Festival representing its major divisions:

1. Ethnic Food Specialists
2. Folk Performances
3. Exhibit/Demonstration

The Festival is intended to encourage direct involvement of the local community in folk arts and presentation of folkways. Luzerne county and northeastern Pennsylvania are an extremely rich repository of ethnic traditions. The Festival provides the only regional recognition of traditional art forms and other expressions of cultural heritage that have been nourished in church or neighborhood settings. Increased public awareness, understanding and appreciation of local people and their richness of tradition is the primary Festival objective today.

From a rich variety of sources, centuries-old roots transplanted in the soil of the New World bear fruit and testify to the magnificent diversity of all creation. The conservation of this harvest we call our cultural heritage is a challenge we willingly and lovingly undertake. We do it for ourselves, and for those that follow.

Questions and Discussion

Question: My name is Sister Mary Louise Sullivan. I am the former president of Cabrini College and the granddaughter of Irish immigrants. I did my doctoral dissertation on Italian immigration. I was very impressed by all four of the speakers here, because I'm interested in multi-cultural education. And I think outside of the classroom there is so much education to be garnered. Each of you have touched upon some phase of education. I think also what we see happening today with this resurgence of racism and anti-semitism, so much of this is due to a lack of understanding of cultures. I've done a lot of work with some of the new cultures. Now many of the cultures you spoke about were traditional cultures. Mostly European. But I have worked with Laotians, with Hmong or Highland Laotians, Khmer-speaking Cambodians, Haitians, Ethiopians.

For example, on a college campus someone says to a black African young man, "Where are you from?" And the boy will say "Zaire." "Oh, what's that?" And then he is hurt because he has been touched. There's so much ignorance in our country especially about the newest of the new immigrants. And so I can only commend your efforts. I think what we try to do in the classroom, you are trying to bring across to the general public. The more we understand one another's culture, the less there will be the tensions that exist. Thank you.

Question: I'm Jane Lundster, and I'm a student from Penn State. It's such a privilege to meet Dr. Hostetler, because I've used some of his works at the University in some of the papers I've written. I specifically have a question that deals with the preservation of prime agricultural land as you relate it to the Amish culture. You're saying that the Amish want to live off the land, and you're seeming to say that the number one problem is unplanned economic growth. Is that correct so far?

Hostetler: No. It's true that one of the values that they stress is a relationship to the soil. Now that can take various forms. If there's only so much soil you still have married children who want to live on the land. They are going to have to go somewhere else.

Lundster: So you're saying there's not enough land to maintain the family culture and have it stay together.

Hostetler: Right. So they may do woodworking, related things, build gazebos, etc.

Lundster: So the problem doesn't lie in the fact that there aren't policies in place that protect them through agricultural security or area zoning and things like that. You're saying being forced off the land in order to keep that family unit together.

Hostetler: Yes. I think the word protection is a very difficult one to define—protection from them to the outside or protection from the general society for a culture like this to remain viable. That is the real problem right now. Forty years ago, Amish had tourists, and they didn't mind it. But now the tourists want to build a house. They want to stay here. And that's where the crux comes in with the land problem.

Lundster: So there's not enough land is the problem.

Hostetler: Not enough land, right.

Question: This is more of a statement. I am Isolina Marxuach-Rosario. I am the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Health on Latino Concerns. I think this conference is so timely, and I would like to commend also the work of all the speakers, but I think there is a paradox. We are trying to preserve our cultural heritage, and we are trying to preserve our languages, and it's so difficult when they are almost extinguished. Now we have in this state groups that have their language and have their culture very active — the Afro-American groups and the Latino, Puerto Rican groups — and we are trying to really diminish their cultures, their languages—the English-Only legislation. I think we wouldn't have to preserve it if we wouldn't want to really kill it. It's so important, this knowledge of all

of our cultures and the enhancement that ethnicity and culture has for all groups, that I want us to be able to now open our minds and cherish these cultures that are active in our communities and preserve what's there, not kill what's there. Thank you.

Jones: Could I ask a question to you please in response to your statement? What things do you think your group could be doing that it's not doing presently in terms of conserving its cultural identity and heritage?

Marxuach-Rosario: I think that our group specifically, the Puerto Rican and the Latino group, is doing enormous things within our communities to preserve our language, but we are not an empowered group at this point. We sometimes are not listened to, what we have to say, how we feel. The structures that are in place in the establishment sometimes would want to wipe away what has been done. For example, English-Only legislation, it's one of the things that can wipe away the Spanish language, from including ballot votes and from use of facilities like rest room facilities. The other day I was in New York, and I saw there a Japanese community that is very active right now, and they have their signs in the Japanese language. I thought, that's wonderful because the more that we can understand what it is, the more that we can preserve what we are, that we can feel proud about who we are and where we come from.

When children come into the schools, one of the things that they are told is leave that part of them that's Latino and assimilate. Now when you say something to that child in those terms, you are just saying that part of him is not good. I think that we are trying very hard, but there is denial of us as a group. In the presentations that I've heard so far, and it's specifically in the historical presentation which was very good, I did not hear Latino groups or the Afro-American culture expressed. Now, you cannot walk the streets of Philadelphia and not hear all these languages and not see the Afro-Americans and not see the Puerto Rican culture there very alive. It's just almost impossible. So you must question, are we still using the Eurocentric, European model? It's a model that perhaps is not adequate anymore. We have to open our minds and start using other models and seeing that these differences, they are not better or worse, they are just differences that can enhance.

I'm a clinical psychologist. If I would use only one homogeneous style to treat my patients I would have a very small group of patients to treat, because I would not be able to treat them. That's what we are doing. We are trying to use one model, a model of assimilation that was never existent because there was never a melting pot. All immigrant groups have suffered prejudice and discrimination. So the melting pot myth was that an immigrant would be able to acculturate without discrimination and prejudice in our nation. It's not that way. It's the hidden dimension, the subtle things. If you're not welcome where you go, you will go somewhere else. In order to change behavior, we have to start changing attitudes, the attitudes and the perceptions. Clinicians who welcome their patients, they will come back even if it's not from their own cultures. But sometimes we don't know we are doing this. So this is very important to them.

Question: David Hufford, I am one of the At-Large Commissioners on the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission. I really liked Isolina's points, and I'd like to turn them into a question to the panel. The problem of empowerment is central, it seems to me, and much of what we have talked about most frequently in terms of cultural conservation has been strategies for linking the conservation to the agenda of the society at large. So, for example, with the Amish, one reason that the Amish have more respect today from the larger community is because they are a valuable asset for tourism. Now if they were not a valuable asset for tourism I would think that there would be much more difficulty garnering respect for them. But there are many issues of conservation that we have to deal with where you can't link, or it would not be productive or it would be in fact destructive to link, the cultural values that you want to conserve to a either profit motive or some other sort of general social value that you have to say, well there is a right to preserve this culture whether it is convenient to others or not, or as in the case of the Amish, even if it is inconvenient to others, even if the land lies where you really

would like to have that road. How about these issues of conservation that really put us in a position of saying the right to conserve the culture at some times is going to be inconvenient to everyone else and is still a right?

Question: My name is Michael Esposito. I am an employee at Wyeth-Ayerst International in St. David's, Pennsylvania. Over a number of years I have been working very intensely in promoting the Latino culture especially in the Philadelphia area. I was very struck by Mrs. Check's observations on the work that her group has done which leaves me a little bit envious, because based on my experience in working in this area I occasionally have been very frustrated because of the difficulty in getting people together. I realize as far as Latinos in Philadelphia that it is beginning to change. But I'm impatient and I would like it to change a lot faster. So my question to you is especially with the Latino ethnic groups that are fragmented, some of them who live within the suburbs, what recommendations would you have in order for us to get together and preserve the values that we would like to preserve?

Check: I think the same problems exist in any group. We also have the same kind of fragmentation, conflicts of interest. But I think that there are certain basic issues which do unite us and it's on that level that I think we met. The impetus definitely was the projection of an image for the bicentennial. The ideas were always there, but I think then that sense of pride that overrode any kind of parochialism that still exists, but there's something above and beyond that which does unite us, which does tie us together. We were fortunate, with God's help, that we were able to tap into that. It sounds simplistic, but that's what happened. And I would wish the same for your group as well.

Jones: I have a question I want to raise with Trude because this has come up in some private discussions with some fellow commissioners and other professionals. I'm looking around the room here and I see many friends, and also many new friends that represent varying groups. Every group that is represented here has varying levels of experience and expertise in terms of working with the conservation of their specific ethnic or work place heritage. Open question. Do you think there's any viability to the thought where organizations because of the number of years they've been working on projects and resources, that they could interact and assist organizations or groups that are just beginning their efforts that need the benefit of experience in terms of how to deal with these issues in the community? If that's a real question and a way to approach solving part of the problem, what would be the best way of doing that?

Check: Sure I think that would be marvelous. I know that within the cultural heritage council that I mentioned in my presentation that's indeed what these people have been doing and are doing. The focal point that we have is this festival, but the activities working toward it go on all year. The people interact. All of the ethnic groups in our area are represented. I only mentioned a couple, but there are at least forty-two, and with the new immigrants coming in we probably should increase that number. Because we have the Asian immigrants, too. It's that kind of central project that has caught on that seems to bring everybody's efforts, pinpoint their efforts. I really feel that we would be wonderfully disposed to assisting other groups who were interested in these kinds of activities in any way that we could. If we could help you to benefit from the mistakes that we've made, we'd be happy to share.

Question: My name is Orysia Hewka, Ukrainian Cultural Center in Philadelphia, Ukrainian American Social Services in Philadelphia, also. In Philadelphia we have over seventy thousand Ukrainian-Americans functioning and preserving our culture. We're proud to say we're doing a great job, and we are helping other Ukrainian groups throughout the country who are coming to us for advice on how to do it better. The community organized in such a way that we've got fifty organizations under one roof, a lot of building with lots of land. We are preserving language and dance and Ukrainian Easter eggs and all the beautiful things, and all the festivals traditionally come to us and presume it will be there. In Philadelphia, all funding organizations, all city of-

ficials, have a tendency toward, I hate to use the word, but stereotyping of ethnic groups. They are there for dance festival purposes. This is what my problem is and the two issues that I have learned in the ten years of work at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in Philadelphia. For instance, a funder came to see whether we were worthy of funding, in our new facility, busy from morning till evening, every day of the week. And he said, "Aren't you supposed to be in church basements?" This is a very serious quote from a very serious funding organization I will not mention. But this tells you about the majority out there in Pennsylvania, I don't want to generalize to all of the United States. But the idea that ethnic groups are to work out of their church basements. We say, wait, we have serious issues, we are tax payers, we live and work in Philadelphia and we deserve a little more consideration. Our social service department is sorely, sorely needing in funds. What I suggest to this conference is that it's time to stop thinking just song and dance and festivals. I think we have to talk about human services and how can we influence our legislators to give these deserving ethnic people that are trying to preserve their culture and put bread and butter on the table for their elderly and for new refugees. We have no funding and no sympathy from state government, federal government or local government. I think this is a serious issue if we are allowing four times more refugees into Pennsylvania and cutting the federal dollars in half for resettlement, then we are not doing our fair share. We have to provide social services too, to these beautiful ethnic people and then we will be ready to sing and dance for you.

Jabbour: I'll just toss out a couple of comments, if I may. The tourism issues that arose from this discussion are really important issues for all of us to wrestle with because it is true that tourism can have negative impacts. Dr. Hostetler's story is a chilling story. It also true that tourism is a slightly negative word which could be redescribed as adult education. Getting to know one another is in fact culturally an important thing for us as Americans and what could be described as tourism is also a way of accomplishing that. How to find the right balance, how to devise techniques that enable people to learn cross-culturally without disrupting the viability and continuity of cultures themselves is a major challenge for all of us and the future. I don't have any pat answers. I just urge everyone to think about and come up with all the information and both good models and cautionary stories we can possibly get together on the subject.

Hostetler: I would certainly affirm that too, that there are very good aspects about tourism. All people are curious, and the Amish certainly are very curious. They articulate their curiosity perhaps more than the rest of us. The word "ethnic" is something we use here in this meeting, but it's not used by the group itself. They don't think of themselves as "ethnic." In the case of the Amish, it would be very different than other people; they would think of themselves as maintaining a community, a special kind of community. They don't think of that as an ethnic community at all. I have noted that news reporters still use the word sect. Now I don't know of anybody that likes to be called a sect, the Plain sect in Pennsylvania. I don't know when they are going to change that, but it does have a historical significance. They were groups of people who did not conform to the established church, but I think the words "Plain people" for me are very sufficient.

Lane: I want to make a comment about tourism as well, which I think is a very imperfect situation right now. In the first community where we tried to implement these ideas, Lowell, since the time we did that plan there has been a tremendous infusion of Asian immigrants who have followed in the path of so many other waves of immigrants who came there. I think there have been all sorts of difficulties and opportunities that have arisen out of that. From what I'm told, I think the communicating of the story of how that city was settled and the role of the different groups has actually been somewhat beneficial in adapting new groups. I do think there is a kind of global message there which was mentioned by one of the people who asked a question, which is that if we can all understand where our individual groups come from it helps us to adapt, to really change, because that's what we all represent in some respects. We're trying to capture some traditions in a changing world.

Question: My name is Maria Mills Torres from Edison High School in Philadelphia. I'm a teacher of Spanish. I was concerned with some of the comments that were made earlier, and I would like to address it so this audience will not go away with a wrong opinion. One of the things that I was concerned is that I feel that in Philadelphia the Latino community is very alive and there are areas in the city where the community is doing a lot in order to retain the ethnicity. One of the places that I can think of is the Taller Puertorriqueno where there is a lot of art work being exhibited. Along with art work there is also a lot of educational programs for our students and our kids in the community. The kids are educated in dance, in art. They are taught history of Puerto Rico. Another thing I would like to suggest, which may be simplistic, that perhaps along with these cultural centers such as the Ukrainian, these centers should not just focus on your one ethnic group but provide other groups to come in. For example at the Taller Puertorriqueno, we tie in with the black community also. We bring in black authors, artists and try for all the community to learn about each other. One of the previous concerns I had was that these cultural centers are great for the ethnic group, however if we focus so much on our own group and not share beyond it, we're going to start with this division again and we will be back to where we started.

Jabbour: That reminds me of the education issue that was raised by a earlier speaker and leads me to say that cultural education has always and must have the twin purposes of helping us know more about ourselves and helping us know about our neighbor.

Plenary Session II

Culturally Sensitive Delivery of Health Care and Human Services

David J. Hufford

David Hufford is Associate Professor of Behavioral Science at the Milton S. Hershey Medical Center of Penn State University's College of Medicine, and Director of the College's Center for Humanistic Medicine. He is a member of the Heritage Affairs Commission and chairs the committee on culturally sensitive delivery of health care and human services.

When one of our scheduled panelists had to withdraw, Shalom asked me to offer comments on ethnicity and health as well as serving as moderator. Since I have been teaching about culture and health at Penn State's College of Medicine in Hershey for the past 16 years, I was pleased to agree. This is a very rich and complex topic, and so I have decided to focus on what I take to be one or two basic, underlying principles that suggest a *fundamental change* in how we think about health care, rather than to attempt a catalog of individual issues. I believe this change can produce essential new policies, attitudes and practices, but without such a shift even excellent plans will encounter very serious difficulties.

Today an awareness that something called *culture* is important has made its way into our large, official institutions, such as the health care system — no easy task given the resistance of such institutions to change. However, a clear understanding of just what culture *is*, why it is important and how it should affect practice, has *not* yet developed.

Within medicine and medical education there is a general sense that culture can be an important complication, like infection or delirium. Further, there is an impression that culture is part of what makes *some* patients "different" — especially makes them different from care providers and from the system in general. We hear terms like "cultural values" and "cultural beliefs" used in implicit contrast to, for example, medical ethics and medical knowledge. This has always been the initial reaction to cultural difference: what "they" do is perceived as culture, it is visible, it may be interesting, it is rooted in "their" history and social setting; but what about what "we" (whoever "we" are) do? That's just how things are, that's the norm, the standard by which cultural difference is measured. This was the initial response of Europeans as the Ages of Exploration and then Colonization brought more and more contact with other ways of life. It was a *very* long time before European observers began to realize that the European ways also constituted cultures, and that cultural divergence need not imply inferiority; that is, that ethnocentrism is a destructive bias. This is the current situation in the health care system: there is a medico-centrism that sees culture primarily in terms of "others" who are "different," but that is not aware that **medicine itself is culture** — that culture is not a *problem* to be *solved*, but that culture is rather our most fundamental resource and the source of *all* of our solutions.

The medico-centric point of view involves a double problem. First, most of the high status positions within health care are occupied by individuals from a narrow set of cultural backgrounds. But even if ethnic diversity became the norm in the health professions, this would not guarantee sensitivity to cultural issues. This is because of the second, and perhaps most challenging, problem of medico-centrism: modern health knowledge and practice are generally assumed to be something *other* than culture. That is the point, for example, of the implicit distinction between "medical knowledge" and "cultural belief." Medi-

cal knowledge is perceived as simply how things *really* are, and, therefore, to the extent that "cultural belief" differs from medical knowledge it must either be medically irrelevant (and therefore to be tolerated) or incorrect (and therefore subject to remediation). A central problem, then, is this idea that culture is some kind of artistic creation added on to "how things really are," reality as cake with culture as frosting.

But, in fact, by any modern definition of culture, modern medicine, like Native American medicine or African American values or the community institutions of Asian Americans, is a cultural product. There is an important theoretical distinction between "things as they really are, apart from the human perception of them" and culture, which is the lens through which such perceptions are made. But the cultural lens is our *only* route to knowledge of things in the world. The point of this observation, of all good arguments against ethnocentrism, is not to debunk modern health care knowledge and practice but to *elevate* the understanding of culture. This does not mean that medical knowledge is "not really true" or is "no more true than any other belief system," but initiation into medicine is as much socialization and acculturation as it is education. An understanding and evaluation of health care must include an understanding of the human forces and purposes involved in its construction.

Culture is the total non-biological inheritance of humans. All knowledge, values and practices are produced by and become a part of that inheritance. The failure to grasp this fact, the failure that produces the notion of medicine as-opposed-to culture, is a potent obstacle to bringing about a fair and serious encounter between care providers and *all kinds* of patients. This failure allows differences of opinion between professionals and patients, including all sorts of legitimate complaints, to be consistently viewed as symptoms either of ignorance or of emotional disturbance. In such a political context it is impossible to empower patients, and the empowerment of consumers is the *only* way of ensuring culturally appropriate delivery of services.

A cultural conception of health care, and of human behavior in general, must be kept as a central focus within the current process of change and reform that has overtaken health care in this country. This process involves not only the reallocation of *material* resources; it also involves a struggle to reallocate authority and responsibility. And this is leading to new relationships between care-providers and those they serve. It involves an explicit effort to recognize the role of values in health care decisions. These changes can produce reform, but that reform cannot be allowed to operate on the assumption that what constitutes good health care is an objective, given fact, while the debate merely concerns who will have access to it. And the inclusion of the community in health decision-making must not be allowed to drift toward a fictitious "mainstream" part of the community. If health care consumers have a right to demand care that is appropriate to their needs and desires, then this must include *all sorts* of consumers, and medical consumers from different cultural backgrounds must be expected to have different needs and different resources.

This is *not* a suggestion that the health care system should develop distinct practice modules for each cultural segment of the community. That approach would inevitably reinforce group stereotypes and would continue to thwart real patient needs. Whenever outsiders, especially "experts," attempt to protect what they believe to be a group's "authentic" culture, the result is paternalism and a sort of romantic neo-colonial attitude. In a truly consumer driven model, the individual patients within a health care population will inform and direct the development of appropriate care. That means that a reformed system will treat *patients* as *experts* on what constitutes intelligent and workable goals for care. Such a system must be flexible and responsive to the constant dynamic flux of society. This is a view of health care as a part of culture.

I believe that this approach also can answer a question I am often asked in my work as a medical educator: "How can doctors and nurses be expected to learn all that about so many different groups?" This question arises from the tendency noted above, to think of cultures as like diseases, discrete entities that pose specific problems. My approach has been to teach care providers to see

their own work in cultural terms, and to be able to learn about the cultural factors pertinent to specific cases from their patients. I illustrate with cases from specific cultures, but I emphasize the processes of culture, not the memorization of facts about individual cultural groups. This avoids the danger that a doctor taught, for instance, how "to treat African Americans" will be at a total loss when confronted by an Asian American or Jewish immigrant from Russia. Further, this approach allows the same knowledge and skills and problem-solving techniques to be used to improve the care of *all* patients. That is, it should be assumed that good care will often be different for different individuals, even when the pathophysiology of the cases is identical. This approach also shows that the cultural facts of any patient group are a basic human commonality shared with all other patients and with care providers. The cultural specifics are different, but the fact of those differences is not "peculiar" or alien.

Perhaps most important, this perspective prevents the tragic result of having the subject of culture-and-medicine merely produce stereotypic reactions to patients based on race or language, while fostering the notion that culture is a problem to be solved.

Joseph Giordano

Joseph Giordano is a social worker and family therapist who recently established his private practice, Ethnicity and Mental Health Associates. He formerly served as Director of the Center on Ethnicity, Behavior and Communications at the American Jewish Committee.

There is a story told about an old Jewish man standing on the corner and a young man comes up him and he says, "You know, you Jews have caused the world a lot of problems." The man says, "What are you talking about?" He says, "You had all these great men throughout history who said that they had the truth and they all had a different message." The old man says, "What are your talking about?" He says, "Well first, you had Abraham, who said, 'Truth is not out there in your idols, truth is up there in heaven.' And then you had Solomon, who said, 'Truth. Truth is here in the mind, wisdom.' Then along came Jesus, who said, 'Truth is here, in the heart, love.' Then you had Karl Marx who said, 'Truth. Truth is here, right in the belly.' Then you had Sigmund Freud, who said 'truth is.....' [pointing to his private parts]." The old man looked up and he said, "That's true, but we also had Einstein who said it's all relative."

What you hear about race and ethnicity is all relative and interrelated, and as we go along the various pieces will pull together to make greater sense. What makes it more complex is that when we talk about ethnicity and race, we tend to polarize, politicize, over-romanticize, and professionalize. Some social scientists take the position that if you can't measure it, it's not there. I think while those perspectives in many ways can be legitimate, they overlook the most important aspect of this issue, and particularly how it relates to the delivery of services in our various institutions. We often fail to humanize, to personalize it. That's true especially for those of us who are professionals, not only when we look and try to understand the larger community and society (our clients, our patients, those people who use our services). We also have a need to understand ourselves, because when we're talking about ethnicity we're talking about heritage, beliefs, values, family and myths that are passed over generations. Behavior: unconscious kinds of things, very powerful feelings that are transmitted over generations through the family. Although we are well trained as professionals, we are born into particular kinds of families, and particular kinds of communities, and neighborhoods. We bring that culture with us into our professional practice. Whether we are social planners and looking out over how services are delivered, or we're in a room dealing with an individual or their family in treatment. When we're talking about ethnicity and race, we should focus on talking about family. You really can't talk about one without talking about the other.

My grandparents came from Italy at the turn of the century. On one side they came from Naples, on the other side they came from Genoa. That's an inter-marriage, by the way. Sitting in my tenement in Brooklyn as little kid in the kitchen, where else do you sit, every Sunday my mother and father would have this huge fight. What were they fighting about? The sauce. My father loved to cook. And since his parents came from the southern part of Italy, he liked the sauce thick and heavy and spicy. My mother, whose mother and father came from Genoa in the north, closer to France, liked it light and airy, not all those heavy spices. So every week I would see this fight over a pot of sauce. She would grab his hand with the oregano. There are cultural differences even inside the group that are very important.

The fact is that my grandparents brought here a concept of family as was transmitted to them over generations in Italy. The family was more important than the individual. Your individuality was rewarded for what you contribute to the family. Their idea of neighborhood was that the community was an extension of family. Why are the Italians dying in the old neighborhoods, holding onto the turf, while other groups may move away when there's a threat to the community? It's because the neighborhood is an extension of family. I take a tremendous sense of pride in my Italian-American background. The thing I cherish most about my closeness around my identity towards my Italian-American background is the feeling around neighborhood. I also feel a great deal of

shame when I see my people in Bensonhurst and Howard Beach reacting to a notion of staying loyal, not talking outside the group. All of that closeness is wonderful — I take pride, but it can be turned the other way and get distorted.

It's a complicated mixture that we all have: positive feelings and pride about our background and negative feelings and shame. There is no way we can get away from our ethnicity. You can change your name, you can change your spouse, but you can't change your grandparents. You're stuck with the family you were born into, and they are the transmitters of a culture, even though there is not a label on it — the nuances, the attitudes, the values, the messages that we still carry on.

We have done a lot of studies of cross-cultural parenting and we find out the older you get, the more you get like your parents. My colleague, Monica McGoldrick, did a study of 200 professionals — social workers, doctors, nurses, educators, and community leaders — and they were asked 200 questions about their background. What were their values, what were the things that were most important in growing up? Out of 200 questions these were the values that they listed as the top ones.

These were the Jewish responses. You are not supposed to marry outside of the group. Talking about one's problems was considered the best way to cure them. That's why Jews make good therapy patients. Success was valued more highly than anything else. Eating was a symbol of nurturing. Suffering could be born more easily when expressed and shared. Guilt was one of the major ways of shaping children's behavior. Children were encouraged to discuss and give their opinions on family problems.

Now compare that with white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Men and women were expected to be strong and able to make it alone. Independent exploration of the world was encouraged. Conflicts were covered over, especially in public. Self control was highly valued. Suffering was to be born in silence. Look at the sharp differences.

Compare that with Italian-Americans. Eating was a symbol of family connectedness. Eating was a symbol of nurturing. Eating was regarded as a source of....[pause for laughter] (Italians, Jews and Chinese are the only three groups I know who can get up in the morning have breakfast together and talk about what they're going to have for lunch and supper.) But food in this case is not just what you put in your mouth. Eating becomes a symbol of keeping the family together talking about it, shopping for it, discussing it, long hours at the table. All of that solidifies the fourth value which was there is nothing more important than the family. Men and women had separate and defined roles: men to protect and women to nurture. Personal connections were a way to get things done.

Compare that with Irish-Americans: church rules were considered all important. Suffering was God's punishment for our sins. Drinking was an important part of social occasions. Suffering was to be done alone. Complaining about problems was bad form. Children were to be seen and not heard. Self-control was highly valued. Sex was something we should not talk about.

Compare that with African-American families: church was seen as a place you could express your sadness. Men and women were expected to be strong, and able to make it alone. Having the strength to survive was highly valued. Being a religious person was highly valued. Men and women were expected to be nurturing and supportive to each other. Women were seen as strong. Parents wanted nothing more than wanting their children to succeed.

Hispanic (and these were mostly Puerto Rican) responses: Grown children were expected to live near their parents. Men and women have separate and defined roles: men to protect and women to nurture, similar to Italian-Americans. Boys were indulged and girls made to toe the line. Family members should take responsibility for elderly parents and not put them into a nursing home. All the family members were regarded for their wisdom.

Asian-Americans: parents had a great deal of anxiety about their children doing well in school. No matter how busy you become you're still expected to give time, money and other assistance to any family member who needs it. All the family members were respected for their wisdom.

Parents wanted nothing more than for their children to be successful.

There are a lot similarities, but notice the sharp differences. Those differences that have an impact on people's behavior — the way they use a service, the way they will handle and deal with and ask for help within the context of health care or social services. These are very powerful feelings that are transmitted.

When I was the assistant commissioner for Mental Health of New York City, and in my own practice, it was very easy to see that there was tremendous diversity on a whole range of issues in the way people use services. For example, there are plenty of studies to indicate that people react differently in expressing their symptoms, and how many people are mistreated and given inappropriate treatment because the cultural cues are misinterpreted by the person who is the helper.

This is the case with new immigrants as studies from NIMH indicate. Spreading people out was a policy — "Let's get these new folks in, make them American, have them acculturate quickly, let's spread them out. It will make it easier than when they cluster together." What did we find? We found high rates of depression among Vietnamese. Why? Because you took away their natural support group of their own community which helped them cope in a land that was full of stress and strangeness. So they were more susceptible to stress and began to break down.

We see this also in practice. As a family therapist I have to think differently when I work with Jewish American, African American, and Chinese American families. There are differences. Is ethnicity and race an issue in every case one sees, or in every community one works in? Maybe, and maybe not. The point is, we have to raise the issue. We do know it is a powerful influence on people's behavior, and since it is, then we have to take that into consideration. We have to begin to see that any policy that affects large numbers of people has to be culturally sensitive. We have to look at who uses the services and doesn't.

The other day Irving Levine and I did a training program in a school. We asked them the question, "Who is in your community?" And in this particular community they said 85% of the kids that go to this school are Hispanic, and among the Hispanics, 75% are Dominicans. And then we asked the question, "In your English literature class, and in your library, how much of the culture of Dominicans is taught and how many authors in literature do you have with Dominican background?" They said none. Simple question. When we talk about ethnicity and race and plugging it into policies, we are not asking for big decisions — we're just asking people to think.

We've learned a lot in the last twenty years about ethnicity and race and how it works. I think we now have to begin to translate that into policies that are culturally sensitive and also training programs. We need to help people in all aspects of health and mental health services and education to be culturally sensitive and develop that knowledge. And finally let me just add this wonderful mental health lesson that an old immigrant woman once said to me. "The two most important things that we can leave our children," she said, "one is roots and the other is wings." I think that was very profound — that balance. I think what we need to plug in to the work of the health and mental health fields is helping people to understand roots and how they work.

Harry Aponte

Harry Aponte is Director of the Family Therapy Training Program of Philadelphia and maintains a private practice.

I'll make my remarks from the basis of my own interests. Most of my professional focus for a good number of years has been in working with low income, poor and minority families. And I suppose what has really made the deepest impression, and has been the most difficult, has been getting a sense of this thing that we call "poverty." The tendency is to think of it as an economic situation. When we talk about the poor we say, "Well, we need jobs for them. And if we educate them so that they can get jobs, we will solve our problems."

I'll tell you from a standpoint of a therapist, the problem that I see has been much more the lack of structure in families: a disintegration of the internal structure of families. In some neighborhoods, 80% of the families that come in are single parents. And where there are two people in the home, it's not a permanent commitment or a marriage. The kids are not clear about to whom they belong: mother, father, grandparents. But it goes beyond the family. It goes into the community. You don't see poor people in middle-class or upper-class neighborhoods. You tend to see poor people in poor neighborhoods, in ghettos, slums, whatever word you want to use for it. These communities reflect the families. They often tend to be communities with barely any internal structure that will keep it together, make it function, make it work — that will take care of its people.

When I thought about what are we supposed to do when we work with poor people, it seems to me that the need to address the question of value structure is critical. Without thinking of the values of a family or a community, we're not dealing with the soul of that family or that community. Throwing money at them doesn't mean anything, and just throwing school (in the way it's generally used) doesn't mean anything. The schools keep failing. Throwing housing at them doesn't do it, because it would seem to me that if those communities had that soul — of values, of culture, of a structure that goes with it — it could deal with all kinds of things, lack of money and poor housing. People could manage and somehow survive because they could take care of each other. They would know who they are, they would know where they are going. It would connect people. If you go into these neighborhoods, people are not connected. If you look into these families, so often people are not connected. But we have mental health models of offering services and treatment that essentially say, "Don't talk about values, that's none of your business. Stay away from that. Keep it to yourself. You're supposed to be value neutral."

There's a big problem here. Because if you buy what I'm trying to sell then the kind of services we offer don't speak to the greatest need that those communities have. What we've tended to do is to say, "Well, we need more of this, more services, more help." We tend to professionalize the community. We ignore the resources that are there. We ignore the churches that are there. We ignore the natural groups that are there, the natural structure that is there, and we want to pour in more professionals. That approach essentially kills the spirit. We will kill the soul of that community. Because we are going to try to substitute it with something that is essentially artificial — professional services.

A couple of comments about how to address this issue. We have an awful dilemma in this country. The dilemma should be there, but it isn't really recognized as such. We have a dilemma that says we want universal rights: we want everybody to be equal. We want to protect the rights of every single individual. There's a push to homogenize society. All our public institutions essentially try to homogenize, neutralize values because we don't wish to offend anybody. At the same time, however, we have something like this conference. We say we have to support ethnicity, culture, groupings of people, and their values. We tend to say that in certain contexts, but I don't know that we have a way of putting all of that together. I'm suggesting that we pay attention to the need for our society to have a healthy tension, a healthy dialectical tension between the need to universalize and the need to individualize. We do indeed need to nurture communities and their culture; to help them build structures and resources that are relevant, reflect and come out of the soul and spirit

of that community. At the same time there needs to be an effort made to universalize whatever is going on in that community, so that community cannot be an isolated island. There is no simple way to do that. I believe that services need simultaneously to address the universal community. Services need to be structured in such a way that the community is integrated into the services. The community must be made organically part of our services. Whether it be schooling, or offering medical services, or psychotherapy, it must be organically connected with the community, with whatever and whomever is there in the community. This can be done through boards, through community activities, through hiring practices. People at a policy level must think of this service as part of this community — the entire community of our country.

Let me make a quick jump. What about the person who is offering the services? Joe Giordano spoke about our being connected with our own cultural backgrounds, and I think that's essential. But there's a certain way of doing that. We can get to the point of talking about who am I racially, culturally. But we can do it in a way where we end up stereotyping ourselves because we want to make that connection. We stereotype ourselves to ourselves. The more we protect ourselves, the more we stereotype ourselves. and we end up trapping ourselves. There is no one single set of cultural values. We have all grown up fighting and identifying with our cultural values from our family and our community. I suggest that when it comes to the offering of services, we must realize that we will identify with, and share values with our clientele and our patients. But we are also going to disagree, and that is healthy, and should not be hidden. We need to train people to address the tension and the difference in our communications and in our values, and that should be built into the training of professionals and built into how institutions deal with community. We should not be afraid to say, "I believe in abortion," "I don't believe in abortion." How are we going to talk about this and communicate with each other? This has to be dealt with directly, not as something that you either don't talk about at all or you simply take a stand that says I don't want to hear anybody else's point of view. You must be prepared and open for discussion and for disagreement, and that is all right. This way is really much healthier than trying to homogenize all of us one way or another.

Moses Williams

Moses Williams is Director of Admissions and Student Activities at the Temple University School of Medicine and an Adjunct Associate Professor of African-American Studies.

I would like to give you a list of recommendations for you to digest as you leave this room regarding cultural sensitivity and the delivery of health care among racial and cultural groups. Since this is a state-sponsored conference, I want to address my remarks on how the state can impact on delivering health care in a culturally sensitive manner. But before giving you that list I'd like to remind you of a few facts regarding the state of health care in this country, as well as in this state today.

As you are well aware, we live in a multi-racial, multi-cultural society. And in such a society each cultural and racial group has its own cultural belief about health care and health care delivery. The European-American model of health care delivery tends to be the accepted norm or standard in this country by state, local and, of course, federal officials. We have to begin modifying that model so that it will be inclusive of other people's beliefs, other cultural group's beliefs. It is this incongruence between the African-American model, the Asian-American model, the Hispanic-American model, and the European-American model that creates the health gap that is present in this city, in this state, and in this country. By health gap, I mean that non-whites have a high infant mortality rate: twice that of white citizens of this country. Non-whites have a rate of morbidity and mortality from cancer and other diseases that are twice those of the white population. This gap was first identified in 1900 and now as we are approaching the 21st century that gap continues to be just as wide, if not increasing. We must begin to redouble our efforts to close that gap and bring quality health care to all citizens of this country.

As I sit at the medical school and watch new students come in, and as I train medical students who then go on to be residents and ultimately to become physicians, I am alarmed by recent studies in the last two years which show that there are disparities in treatment of different populations. The only way to address these disparities is to begin being sensitive about the cultural differences of patients and understanding how they view health, their own health, and how they will accept the European-American model of health care.

I would like to move to some of the steps that we in this room can take towards influencing the state government to impact upon the health care delivery system within the state. *First, the system has to increase the representation of racial minority groups in this country.* There are too few individuals in the pipeline to become physicians, nurses or allied health professionals. We must address that issue of increasing under- represented minorities in the health professions. In my own profession, the Association of American Medical Colleges in 1972 set a target for 1978 of having an enrollment nationally of minorities of 16%. We have never achieved that. We are only at 8% enrollment of minorities in all medical schools in the United States and Canada. The reason why the Association of American Medical Colleges tried to increase this representation is very commonsensical. By having more minorities, more racial groups who represent cultural groups in the system you increase the sensitivity of the system to the patients who are being served. Therefore, the need for increased representation has to occur as we approach the 21st century beyond the levels that we presently have.

The second step is pressuring our state legislators to institute certain policies that can impact upon the health care system here in Pennsylvania. Probably the biggest way to influence the system is via state money. Money talks. At Temple University School of Medicine, as well as the hospital, we receive $80 million in reimbursements from the state. If we, as citizens, force the state to tie cultural sensitivity training to this money you would begin to get results overnight. The schools, in fact, would make changes in their curriculum because they want the money. The hospitals would make changes because they would want to keep the money. It's a matter of survival.

In addition, there are a number of regulations that presently exist that could be amended by the state to make certain that cultural sensitivity become part of the training of all health care profes-

sionals, be they medical students, nursing students or allied health students. The training of students is one way that we can impact the pipeline. Too often I've found in admitting students that many come to our medical schools and nursing schools without any knowledge or any courses in cultural sensitivity or cultural awareness. Recently, our school began to thrash out ideas about having a pre-med requirement in our bulletin requesting that all students applying to Temple have had a course in cultural sensitivity.

Two years ago we put into our bulletin a pre-med requirement that they have a course in writing. We believe it is now time that they also had a course in knowing about other cultures and other racial groups, because in our hospital we have a very diverse patient population. We are also thinking of changes in the orientation for incoming residents, new faculty members, and new nurses. For example, we could have a mini-course on cultural sensitivity during their three day orientation. In that way, when you bring new people into they system who may not be from the state you at least try to influence them and educate them on the patient populations they will be serving.

Finally, I would like to turn to issues of accreditation and licensure that the state can impact on. In order to practice in this state, you have to be licensed. If the state has regulations that anyone who wishes to practice has to have undergone a mini-course or some full course in cultural sensitivity you would find that just about all of them would do so.

In terms of accreditation of professional schools, all schools would be required to include a course in their curriculum if that was part of the accreditation process and if they wished to keep their accreditation.

These are some of the simple things at the state level that we can do in terms of tying money to cultural sensitivity and tying present state regulations to the incorporation of cultural sensitivity in curriculums, in orientations for new residents, new nurses, new faculty.

Truong Ngoc Phuong

Truong Phuong is Executive Director of the International Service Center in Harrisburg, a non-profit refugee assistance agency. He is Vietnamese American Commissioner on the Heritage Affairs Commission, and co-chairs its Asian American Task Force.

Before addressing my comments on the topic of providing culturally sensitive services to refugees, allow me to briefly submit to you some background information. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has been an active partner of the federal government in the resettlement of refugees since 1975 when thousands of Vietnamese were processed at Fort Indiantown Gap. As of September 1989, about 45,000 refugees, mostly Southeast Asians, have been resettled in this state.

The Pennsylvania Refugee Assistance Program consists of four major components: the Cash Assistance Program, the Medical Assistance Program, the Social Services Program, and the Unaccompanied Minors Program. Refugee social services are provided by private non-profit organizations, such as local voluntary agencies and refugee self-help organizations, under contract with the state Refugee Assistance Program. All funding comes from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services under the federal Office of Refugee Resettlement. The state Refugee Program manager is responsible for the coordination of all refugee program activities.

Although the State Refugee Program has been successful in resettling a large number of refugees, it is our sincere belief that the delivery of social services to refugees needs to be more sensitive to the refugee experience in order to enable the refugees to start a new life, with dignity in their newhomeland.

In our humble opinion, each of the key actors involved in the refugee resettlement effort must seriously explore the possibility of upholding or preserving some basic principles. Within the Refugee Assistance Program office both management and line staff need to believe in the following values.

The first value is *nhân*, as referred to in Vietnamese, which means humanity and compassion. The agency is adopting a humanitarian policy aimed at fostering progress and personal welfare for the needy. Its staff, the civil servants, and by extension, its contractors, the service providers, are performing a vital service to advance and promote the general welfare of society.

The second value is *nghĩa*, which means gratitude and loyalty. The employees are grateful to the agency for giving them a cause to serve in addition to a career opportunity. Gratitude by deeds from the heart and the mind of the employees is matched by their loyalty and sensitivity on the part of the employer. Every employee, as well as service provider, is considered to be a source of ideas, quality and productivity.

The third value is *lễ*, which means politeness and good manners. Harmony, cooperation, courtesy and humility are emphasized in daily social and professional relationships to maintain a gentler and kinder environment. (Don't read my lips! I was told by my mother that sincerity and conviction don't come from the mouth. They come from deeper, the heart.) Conflicts and differences are constructively and effectively resolved by using culturally sensitive problem-solving techniques, such as the "acceptance time" approach.

The fourth value is *trí*, which means reason and perseverance. Adjustment, assimilation and striving for excellence is to be encouraged at all levels. Employees must adjust themselves to jobs about which they are knowledgeable, seek learning for professional improvement, build character and think through agency problems and issues. Management must always rely on wisdom, sound judgement and learning to carry out its mandate.

And the last value is *tín*, which means trust and confidence. Fairness in judging and rewarding performance must be the primary goal of management. This ethical standard is to be applied in a just and equitable manner. It places a high premium on trust and confidence between all members. The main way of controlling and guiding the work of the employees and the performance of service providers is through implicit control mechanisms based on a clear under-

Within the service provider circles, every case manager needs to accept the following responsibilities:

as an ***empathizer***, to accept the refugee's culture and try to understand, if not to appreciate, the social context within which the refugee functions;

as a ***helper***, to directly assist the refugees in addressing the material needs and alleviate the emotional problems;

as an ***enabler***, to help the refugees adjust to a new environment and become self-sufficient in the shortest possible time;

as a ***supporter***, to show caring to the refugees and confidence in the refugees' ability to take more responsibility for their life;

as a ***facilitator***, to make the refugee's interaction with the community support system work more easily;

as a ***linker***, to bring refugees and service providers together at the refugee level, including making introductions, communicating and providing appropriate information referrals;

as a ***monitor***, to follow-up to ensure that refugees and services are doing what they have agree to do;

as a ***broker***, to help the refugees obtain the services they need which might include negotiating on their behalf;

as a ***bridger***, to build bridges where there are gaps between refugees, between refugees and service providers, and between service providers;

as a ***catalyst***, to bring refugees' problems to the attention of others so that they initiate actions which would lead to changes for the refugees; and finally,

as an ***advocate***, to assist the refugees in defending their rights as clients and as human beings.

Within the refugee community organizations, every community helper needs to face the following challenges:

People are unreasonable, illogical and self-centered. Love them anyway.

If you do good, your colleagues will accuse you of selfish ulterior motives. Do good anyway.

If you are successful, you win false friends and true enemies. Succeed anyway.

The outstanding performance you achieve today will be forgotten tomorrow. Achieve anyway.

The mistakes you make in experimenting with new ideas will be remembered forever! Make mistakes anyway.

Honesty and compassion make you vulnerable. Be honest and compassionate anyway.

People favor underdogs, but follow only top dogs. Fight for some underdogs anyway.

What you spend years building might be destroyed overnight. Build anyway.

People really need help, but might attack you if you help them. Help them anyway.

Give the world the best you have, and you will get kicked in the teeth. Give the world the best you've got, anyway.

Questions and Discussion

Question: Ron David, from the Department of Health, Deputy Secretary to Mark Richards. Thank you each for your comments and your thoughts. I think what I heard you say is that illness is defined in a cultural context and disease is treated in a medical context, and part of the challenge that you are presenting to us is that we have to begin to bring a cultural perspective to medical care, as Joe Giordano described it, "to humanize it." One of the things I did not hear, and I know working with several of you that you appreciate, is the extent to which illness and disease are a direct consequence of dissonant, discordant and disharmonious human relationships. When I say direct, I don't mean in the sense that if you are racist, you limit access to medical care. I mean that the very idea of racism is a dissonant human experience that in and of itself leads to illness and disease. And so by way of my favorite example, poor pregnancy outcomes are not a consequence of inadequate medical prenatal care, no matter how culturally sensitive it may be. Medical care is simply not a part of the biology of pregnancy for human beings or any other animal species. Rather sub-optimal pregnancy outcomes are a function of sexism, racism, materialism and other schisms, or tears in the fabric of human relationships. I mean the kind of materialism, for example, that allows us as a nation to arrogantly dump tobacco products in other nations when we know it is unhealthy. Somehow we have to begin to change our values and stop viewing health and wellness as something that we can buy from even the most culturally sensitive health care provider. In effect, we have to work harder with ourselves and our relationships with each other to mend the tears in the fabric of our human relationships.

Hufford: Thank you, Ron. You know I think that we come to a conference like this in part with the idea that we're going to generate ideas and things that we want to turn around and tell to the state. I hope you share with me the really good feeling that I get whenever I hear — and Ron is one of the few examples I can think of — a person representing the state, telling us things like that. It makes you feel that something is going right in the system.

Question: My name is Irmi Ahmed. I work for Dauphin County Crisis Intervention. I find myself constantly in a position where people are misjudged on the basis of their culture and their behavior, and I do think what you all have said, that a cultural education is essential. I think a part of that should be that we learn what we are. I think that Mr. Giordano touched it — to understand ourselves, our values, what are the predominant values in this country — before we can understand another culture.

Hufford: Yes, thank you. I think we would certainly all agree with that. The self understanding is a prerequisite for understanding others.

Giordano: It's frightfully important, as I see it now in the workplace. We look at the statistics of new workers coming into the workplace, in particular in health, mental health and human services field, that 80% percent of new workers from now to the year 2000 are going to be women, minorities and new immigrants. So the idea that we had years ago that you leave all your personal problems, your identity at the door of the workplace is no longer. That is gone. People bring everything into the workplace. I think increasingly now we have to find ways to help people to work more cooperatively together and understand and deal with the issues of gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, all of these factors which are going to have a tremendous impact on how productive we are and how effective we are in working together. There isn't a place we go to train people, to help them understand who they are working with, without them wanting to talk about how they are working together. Most institutions are afraid to deal with it because the administration says the place will blow up, if we deal with this issue it will blow up. In some instances that is true, but I think we have methodologies today to deal with that. As you said, we have to begin with ourselves. I think the workplace is going to force us into that perspective.

Question: My name is Marlene Campbell. I'm from Langhorne. I'm active in my community and my church, and I'm the wife of the Scottish Commissioner on the Heritage Affairs Commission. I have two comments and a question.

Mr. Giordano raised the issue of delivery of health care services and ethnic sensitivity. As someone who has been a volunteer in the battered women's shelter in my area, I'd like to suggest that the training for ethnic sensitivity is a very real need in this area. I've been to seminars where it was discussed but I never really saw it done within at least the shelter program that I was involved with. I'd like to suggest that that's something that maybe you would like to address your energies to. There is a real need.

The other suggestion was something that Mr. Williams had said about an ethnic sensitivity course on the college level at Temple. I'd like to suggest that that be a requirement, not a mini-course, because I don't see how you can cover as part of a three day orientation, anything as large as being sensitive to the diverse ethnic groups that exist in this state. But as a regular one semester course on the college level. I'd also like to suggest that it not just be in the pre-med or the pre-law programs, but in all of the colleges in all of the majors and that while we're doing that we need to look at the younger generation coming up. We might want to explore the idea of starting that kind of thing at the elementary school level and working it up. I really think that what's going on in our society that's negative right now is due to a lack of both ethnic identity and understanding between the different ethnic groups, and therefore lack of tolerance for one group of another. I think that we need to start with the young if we're ever going to fully eradicate that.

My question is for Mr. Williams. Would you say that the gap in the health care between the white and the non-white population is economic or ethnic in origin, or is it a combination of both, that some of the non-white ethnic groups are also at the lower end generally of the economic spectrum, and so they're intertwined?

Williams: Yes, I would agree with you that historically a large number of racial and cultural groups in this country started out at the bottom of the economic scale and have remained there. Over the years from 1900 to 1990, each group has attempted to go up the economic ladder and obtain better health services. But part of the problem is, as I mentioned, the incongruence between their cultural beliefs and the standard system in practice. And because of that many individuals tend not to utilize the system as they should.

Question: My name is Philip Rosen, and I teach a course on the Philadelphia Mosaic of Peoples at Gratz College. I'd like to direct my remarks to Mr. Aponte. I think you were saying something that I'd like to underscore, and that is while I agree 100% that giving a course on ethnic sensitivity and being ethnically sensitive in the health care is very important, I think a lot of the controversy that occurs between ethnic groups and between racial groups goes back to the economic situation. Where there is a big pie and people are prosperous and there are many jobs and there is enough to go around like during World War II, a lot of these problems are dissipated. But where there is a scarcity, and where there is a problem of poverty, as you mentioned, then some of these ethnic conflicts occur. I think we also have to look at the solution in terms of providing jobs. With the availability of jobs, some of these problems, I think, will go away.

Question: My name is Juvencio Gonzalez, and I represent the Governor's Latino Affairs Advisory Commission. I wanted to mention that many of the elderly in senior citizens programs, going back to cultural sensitivity, many do not want to go to programs mainly because of food. They don't have the food that they need in terms of the typical Puerto Rican diet. They like to mix the rice and beans instead of heros and cold cuts. This is something that needs to be addressed with our population.

Agency directors are many times asked to sensitize departments, something which is very difficult to do. I mean if we all decided to sensitize every department in the state, every department in the cities and counties, we would have to quit our jobs. I think that the best way to do that is to get them on boards, task forces, committees, and policy decision making positions. That's my stand.

Plenary Session III

Inter-Ethnic Relations

Frank Liu

Frank Liu is Director of the Law Library and Professor of Law at Duquesne University. He is a member of the Heritage Affairs Commission and chairs the committee on inter-ethnic relations.

It was recently predicted that by the year 2056 there would not be a single ethnic or racial group that can be called majority. In fact, the majority of the people of the United States will be a combination of ethnic or racial minorities. A person born today will be 66 years old in the year 2056. That typical American citizen will not be coming predominantly from Europe, but from Europe, Africa, Asia, Hispanic countries, and all parts of the world. As the multiplicity of the ethnic and racial composition of our society increases, it becomes increasingly critical that we search for patterns of individual and collective human behaviors that will not only maintain the harmony between ethnic groups but energize their relationship so that each ethnic group can maximize its strengths and beauty in order to perpetuate the eternal youth of this great, beloved country of ours called America. Some scholar says, if we do it right, America is on the verge of developing as a universal nation.

In this context, the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission has committed to encouraging each ethnic community to maintain a healthy, ethnic identity and to develop networks to ensure representation of its unique cultural values, beliefs, structures and needs throughout the Commonwealth; assisting in resolving ethnic conflicts and tension, advocating elimination of ethnic stereotyping, discrimination, intimidation; assisting government, corporations and institutions to develop policies and programs to that end; and furthermore, encouraging programs of acculturation for new immigrants to adjust to American life without loosing their cultural identities. This panel is congregated as one of the means for discharging these missions.

Irving Levine

Irving Levine is Director of the Institute for American Pluralism of the American Jewish Committee.

This is a terrific conference. I want to congratulate everybody who has been associated with it. It's one of the dreams that we had when we ran the second national Consultation on Ethnic America last year that it would be decentralized. Shalom took the model and is using it here, and we've been doing it in Texas and on the West Coast. So we have an East Coast model, a Texas model, and a West Coast model, and it's good to see that we're taking the time and energy to identify the issue as pluralism, multi-culturalism, race relations. You've got to put it into a proper framework so we can think about it correctly and get used to not dichotomizing, but to realize that the society is a multi-cultural society and pluralistic.

Let me say something for the WASPs. They count too, as an authentic American group, and you'll hear no WASP-baiting from me. I know who wrote the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and I'm grateful. But it's in the context of what used to be called Anglo-conformity that we have been struggling to express ourselves. I think we are finally understanding the nature of a mixed society and we're going to work out the details in the next few decades.

By the way, we are not going to succeed in solving some of our most serious problems. We are not going to succeed if we state our goals unrealistically, such as eliminating racism, anti-Semitism and bigotry. At best, we are going to learn how to better manage a diverse society. That is the agenda. We need a core of professionals and lay leaders who dedicate themselves to managing a diverse society. One of the things you cannot have in this diverse society is the extremes of racial, ethnic and religious tension. You can have tension and conflict. It is natural and normal. Sometimes we get overly excited at the fact that there is this conflict. There always has been group conflict. There always will be group conflict. Some of it is creative and some of it is destructive. We are going to have to learn how to distinguish between the two. Some of it is natural, some of it is imposed and some of it is excited by racial, ethnic and religious demagogues.

I have developed a rule if those demagogues happen to be of your own group. I was shocked and surprised that a kid whose name is Andrew Dice Clay is really a Jewish boy from Brooklyn. His real name is Silverman. In my opinion, Andrew Dice Clay is a no goodnik. I am a nice Jewish boy; he is a bad Jewish boy. We ought to learn that we have a responsibility to denounce the hate-mongers of our own group, and we must make this one of the first rules of our pluralistic society: if somebody of your group is acting out hatefully, whether his name is Andrew Dice Clay, or Reverend Al Sharpton, the first rule is you denounce him even before your neighbors do. Let us not be reticent about dealing with skunks in our own back yard.

We also need to go beyond the deadlines to see whether we are facing a new wave of bigotry. It would appear so, but we are not sure. Let me tell you why we are not sure. I do a lot of work on campuses and in high schools, and I have noticed a very sharp, almost inexplicable contradiction. Young people do not often endorse bigotry or support it in others, but their behavior often belies their belief system. The American Jewish Committee does annual surveys of the level of bigotry in this society, as do the NAACP and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and we have been watching this behavior very closely. Everybody reports the same figures. All these studies have found that American society is more tolerant of diversity than it has ever been before. More tolerant, not less so, as many now believe.

So if it is more tolerant, how come all these dramatic incidents of bigotry are happening? It is hard to explain except that there was one blip on that graph of tolerance that we have never seen before and that social scientists were not used to. In the last 15 years there was a little less tolerance among young people, and that had never shown up before. It was always the other way: older people were less tolerant, younger people were more tolerant. So we have seen a small reversal of a long term norm. We spotted the trend about 15 years ago and should have realized that something was happening among young people that

needed deeper investigation. Was it that they were rubbing against each other, that they were not being properly educated in multi-cultural relations, that they were not being properly brought into social movements? The civil rights movement was over, the peace movement was over. In the sixties and seventies, there were complaints about too much militancy, but without strong advocacy and passionate commitment (the eighties phenomenon), we lack the necessary educative force to shape young people's conscience.

I have been in the field of inter-group relations for thirty-five years, and I can say to you that there is a proper place for advocacy, there is a proper place for group assertion, and there is a proper place for coalition building. They have got to go together. There is a proper place for ethnic identity and the legitimacy of ethnic claims, and there is a proper place for giving to the common culture. We have got to get this complexity into our guts or we will end up polarizing the society. We must be able to say, "Yes, I must advocate for my own group and it's legitimate, but yes, I must also make a contribution of the common culture. And I must realize that in this country of incredible diversity, only rarely is the society going to accede to my group's demands no matter how legitimate unless those demands are creatively brought into the mainstream. As an ethnic leader, I must intuitively know that there is a moment of truth where my rhetoric must become more statesman-like. Only then will I gain coalition partners and have a better shot at success.

So, ethnic groups, it appears that you need two kinds of leaders: strong, ethnic advocates, who make a lot of noise, and a trained corps of diplomats who know how to go out there and present your position in what appears to be a more reasonable way.

Let me now say something about the need we have in this country to build a more substantial infrastructure to deal with intergroup conflict. Go back to the 1930s, or the 1920s, or the 1910s, when we had intense labor conflict in the country, so intense that people thought the whole place would come apart. We learned how to create labor-management approaches to reduce destructive conflicts, and we trained a cadre of professionals who became mediators and negotiators and labor relations experts. We must do the same thing to deal with problems of intergroup relations. While we now have a small group of professional conflict resolvers, they are too few and their reach too narrow. Conflict resolution must be seen as an essential skill for all human service professionals and lay leaders.

I am happy to report that there are new and promising efforts now going on in high schools to teach young people how deal with conflict in their schools. We also need a larger number of people who are experts in multi-cultural relations, who know are ethno-culturally and religiously sensitive and who know how to facilitate race and ethnic relations programs so that there are emotional as well as intellectual breakthroughs.

At the American Jewish Committee's Institute for American Pluralism which I head, we have invented something called "ethnic sharing" where people share their experiences with each other in a pleasurable way, and it makes a tremendous difference in people knowing each other. We do it with faculty, we do it with kids, we do it with parents. Faculty who have been with each other for twenty years say that in ten minutes of ethnic sharing they know more about their colleagues than during the entire span of their previous acquaintance. With children it works equally well to break down barriers of social distance. Now, when we get such dramatic results from highly structured and highly effective conversation across group lines, there really should be no excuse for these programs and these methods not being adopted in every school and used extensively in the community and the work place. It is a pity that there is still so much resistance to a mechanism that brings people together to share their identities. We now know that if you teach to identity — reflect on where kids come from — you energize them, mobilize them and they are fascinated. If you teach to just information, they are bored. We have new methods. They work, and they must be applied. The way the multi-cultural education debate is shaping up in higher education and elsewhere, it looks like we are polarizing again. I cannot imagine that people are serious when they would exclude the legitimacy of women's studies and ethnic studies, but they obviously are.

In conclusion, let me return to the topic of youth and bigotry. As you may know, eighty percent of all racial, ethnic, religious and sexually related violence is committed by young people under twenty years of age. What can we do about this? I have some suggestions.

We have to target youth serving agencies, to get them to expand and upgrade their race and ethnic relations programs. All surveys we have made show that the programs that existed in the 1960s and 1970s do not exist in the 1980s and 1990s.

We need City Commissions on Human Relations in every city. We need to establish computerized tension control networks that will collect and feed out names and portraits of personalities who could be helpful in bias related incidents. We need to know the good people.

The media has to learn to talk to the good guys as well as the bad guys. I am not happy in the role of media basher, but my Institute has done some careful studies on how the media is covering group tensions, and it should be no surprise that they are not doing well at all, especially on television. The media often tells us that it just reports the news, but neither they nor you really believe that. In the last few weeks, New York City reached a race relations crisis point because the media ran away with itself. One of the reports was a front page picture (in a very responsible paper) of the skyline of New York with a match under it going up in flames. We didn't need that because, serious as our problems were, that was not what was happening.

We need to provide special training for ethnic, religious and civic leaders to create effective multicultural dialogues to resolve conflicts and to learn the ins and outs of the art of coalition building. We can train people to do that.

We need to recruit sports and entertainment figures to reach large audiences of young people with an anti-bigotry message. With their influence, they can really inspire in that area.

We need to press the media to play a role in stimulating civic activism in the field of reducing bias. The media can do it, and to its credit, there are many examples of responsible journalism.

We need to appropriate one month in the year to become the focus of inter-group relations, every town ought to have a unity month where all kinds of activities are stimulated.

We need to honor and publicize people, especially young people, who make special contributions to the fight against bias.

We need to monitor political campaigns for bias and seek anti-bias pledges from all candidates.

And the last recommendation, we need to make universal in all schools from elementary through the university level, a total commitment to programs and teaching materials to accomplish three goals: fighting all forms of bigotry, enhancing healthy group identity, and improving intergroup relations.

George Love

George Love is the President of the Greater Harrisburg Branch of the NAACP and NAACP State Education Chairman. He serves as the Director of the Division of Special Projects for the Harrisburg School District.

I think this is a wonderful program that has been put together by the Commission. I want to express my thanks and appreciation to them for bringing these excellent speakers to present their ideas to you, and for you to interact with them. I would like to especially to thank Shalom Staub for inviting me to be a panelist on this program. He asked me two days ago because Mr. Adams could not be here and he needed somebody to fill in, and I graciously agreed to come.

I would like to begin by defining some terms so that we can be on common ground and you can understand what I'm going to talk about. I'd like to define race. I believe that there is only one race, and that is homo sapiens — "wise men." The human race is the only race on earth. There are differences among all people and groups of people, but they are all members of the same species. I am a scientist and my definition, or the scientific definition, of the species is a group of individuals that can intermarry, produce offspring, and the offspring can in turn produce other offspring. And there is no human being that I know of on earth that does not have the capability of mating with any other group of people on earth.

In the terminology used by social scientists, race refers to groups of people with common traits or characteristics. It is my contention that there is no such thing as a pure race and that every human being is related to every other human being no matter how distant that relationship may be. This is true whether we believe in the divine creation of man or in the evolutionary theory or in the descendancy of humankind from one woman in Africa commonly referred to as Mother Eve. It is not always easy to identify an African-American as being an African-American. Some of us look as if we had no descendants in Africa. However, most of us who have ancestors who came from Africa are readily identified. We also have identity with Europe, Asia and with Native Americans, who are also descendants from Asians. We are Americans. We are harassed, we are intimidated, we are castigated and we are reviled by a small percentage of individuals who use their power to make certain that we, as African-Americans, do not reap the same benefits that they receive. This leads me to the definition of racism.

I believe that this is the intentional, or unintentional use of power to isolate, separate, and exploit others. It is based on a belief in superior racial origin, identity or supposed racial characteristics. Racism confers certain privileges on and defends the dominant group, which in turn sustains and perpetuates racism. Both consciously and unconsciously racism is enforced and maintained by legal, cultural, religious, educational, economic, political and military institutions. Racism is more than just a personal attitude. It is the institutionalized form of that attitude. Institutionalized racism is one of the ways organizations and structures serve to preserve injustice, intended or not. The mechanisms and functions of these entities create a pattern of racial injustice. Historically, people of European ancestry have controlled the overwhelming majority of financial resources, institutions and levers of power. Racism in the United States can be defined as white racism: racism as promulgated and sustained by the white majority.

The NAACP was founded in 1909 and is the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization. We have successfully fought for voting rights, economic advancement, criminal justice, education and school desegregation. I am the president of the Greater Harrisburg area branch NAACP. Our purposes and aims are to improve the political, educational, social and economic status of minority groups: to eliminate racial prejudice, to keep the public aware of the adverse effects of racial discrimination, and to take lawful action to secure its elimination, consistent with the efforts of the National Association and in conformity with the articles of incorporation of the association, its constitution and bylaws, and as directed by the national board of directors. Membership in the NAACP is open to any individual, corporation or other entity which supports the purpose of the branch.

Our struggle continues. During the past two years, we have seen a rash of racial hatred in communities across the Commonwealth. In the Harrisburg area, we have seen the materials that were disseminated by the Ku Klux Klan in the Steelton, Lemoyne, Camp Hill and Harrisburg areas. We have seen the spray painting of the word "nigger" on a house that was being remodeled on Chambers Hill Road, and that same house doused with gasoline. We have seen the spray painting of swastikas on the Kesher Israel Synagogue. We have also seen the emergence of groups, hate groups such as skinheads and neo-Nazis. we have also been fortunate enough to see community involvement to fight against these unlawful acts. In the Chambers Hill incident, for example, we had a rally in front of the property. Half of the persons who participated (and we had close to a hundred), were white. Many of them were neighbors of the family that was building and renovating this house, who came out in support of this family. We also saw, some months later, one of our major construction companies and one of the major unions, provide their craftsmen to go in free of charge to do the roofing, the paneling, the floors, the heating and the wiring: to do all of the repairs that were needed to make that house liveable. They built a beautiful house. They all volunteered. We got a group of people together, and we brought food to the workmen so that they could partake of a meal while they were working in order to ensure that the work was done and to show our appreciation for what they were doing. They would not accept a dime for their efforts, and that was beautiful. Two of our senators were involved in helping to get these programs together, and one in particular, Senator Shumaker, was invaluable in helping us bring this about.

We also saw, in the case of the Kesher Israel Synagogue, a group of people who came together and made speeches, and I was one of them, about the incidents that occurred. The fact is that we need community organizations to deal with groups of people, or individuals who fostered this hatred, and we have seen fewer incidents in this area of that kind of desecration.

I recently had a call from a resident of Camp Hill who was concerned about the hate literature of the Klan that had been disseminated in Camp Hill and at Harrisburg Area Community College. She had been in contact with the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission and was referred to me. A meeting with other community leaders, including religious leaders from different denominations, was held to address the problem of dissemination of this hate literature. It was a beautiful group. We agreed that we would adopt the acronym "POWER," which stands for People Organized and Working to Eliminate Racism. We are a multicultural group, a multi-religious group and a multi-ethnic group. We have had three meetings, have formed committees and we are going to deal with the short-term problems. We are also addressing the long term problems of racism in our communities. We don't want the hate mongers in existence. We don't want them in any of the communities. This is America, and we are Americans. The Bible tells us that we should love our neighbors as ourselves.

Each year, the Harrisburg school district has special programs in each of its schools to recognize achievements of African-Americans. We ask students to submit essays on what they learned, and we give awards to the students who present the best essays. One fourth grade student wrote the following:

> During Black History Month, I learned true facts about the contributions of Afro-Americans to the discovery and development of America. Blacks have not been given a fair deal in many facets of the American way of life. Even so, great and outstanding things have been achieved by blacks. As the thread of black accomplishment unravels through the study of black history, I feel good to be black. The knowledge of the things blacks have done in all fields of work gives me a deeper desire to study and press on so that I too can continue to lengthen the thread of black achievements in the future of our country. I have learned that you can be what you want to be. You've got to work hard, get a good education, set goals and have dreams. Keep hope alive, do your best. Leave a good record of your work and what you do to help others. If you dream of a better world for all people, what will you do about it? I will

model my plan after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I will set my goals for the betterment of all people. I will work for what I feel is just and fair for all, not just a few. The road to success is long and hard, but I must never give up. I, too, can have a national holiday in honor of my great work in the world if I really deserve it. I have a dream that one day in the future, I will be a famous black woman. My goal is to be the first black president of the United States.

That's a fourth grader. If we truly believe in the brotherhood of man, as well as the sisterhood of man, we will all help this student to achieve her dream, make her dream a reality.

Judith Goode

Judith Goode is Professor of Anthropology at Temple University. She has directed the Philadelphia Changing Relations Project, a Ford Foundation funded study of the impact of new immigrants on established neighborhoods.

For the last two years, it has been my privilege to do ethnographic fieldwork in a large area of eastern North Philadelphia where communities that were formed by the earlier wave of European immigration, in the mid-19th century from 1880 to 1920, are being joined by new immigrants: Latinos, Asians and others who are changing the face of America. We are part of a national project sponsored by the Ford Foundation in which these kinds of changing relations are being studied in six other cities in the country — most of them faster growth cities and larger newcomer cities than Philadelphia. Philadelphia may be the fifth largest city in the country but, it is only the 16th in terms of receiving newcomers. We were working in a city in which transformation was not as great, and of course that affected the outcome.

The whole purpose of the study was to look at local context, to see how local variation affected the way in which newcomers and established residents related. We went into communities and looked at on-the-ground interaction, talked to people at great length, informally and formally, about how they thought about themselves and other groups, how they were socially constructing who was whom, who was different, and how these differences mattered. Behind all of this localized social construction of social categories lurked the media and other, more formal institutions and agencies which used categories that had been largely generated by the civil rights movement, and by the increasing focus on diversity, pluralism, tapestry and other metaphors for positively viewing difference. With this as a background we wanted to look at how social categories were emerging in the communities, how insiders were thinking of themselves, and how outsiders were defining boundaries around others. We were particularly interested in looking at how these definitions varied in different situations and settings.

One of the things that was astounding to us was that during the course of a single interview an individual would shift the terms of their description of others and of themselves depending on what it was that they were talking about. Different situations and different settings called for different social categories. At times people identified with other groups and at other times they made clear cut separations. This is true in so many instances, I can't even begin to give you examples. But when we talk about newcomers and immigrants, established residents would first talk about the image of their grandparents' experience and place new immigrants in those terms, and then immediately switch to talking about them as minorities, as deprived people, as poor people — shifting the terms of their categorization from the pluralist mosaic to civil rights discourse. What struck us was the degree to which people hold simultaneously contradictory shifting images of themselves and others in inter-group relations. Before we even begin the task of developing multi-cultural education we have to come to grips with these simultaneous contradictions — with the variety and shifts in the way people identify themselves and others in changing situations. We realized that we were in a great situation where we were able to look at categories as they were emerging in reality and as people were creating them.

In looking at groups, we selected geographic areas based on which groups were moving in. We are not describing all of Philadelphia's experiences. We chose a large area of eastern North Philadelphia that had been populated by older waves of European immigrants, where there had been nationality churches, in which people described growing up in little united nations with many languages, national parishes where Germans were Germans and Irish were Irish and intermarriage caused great furor. People described that as the past, but that was no longer the present. For example, in one church that had five different language masses of its own for the new immigrant populations, people also celebrated the old European ethnicities. They would have Irish Day and Polish Day and Italian Day, and they sat around and talked about how there weren't any Irish or Italian or Polish families left in the parish because everyone had intermarried to such a de-

gree. Most people, when you ask them to identify themselves, would first say American and then have to think a little longer. But the presence of newcomers and the renewed interest in ethnicity were changing people's categorizations of themselves.

The "official" groups that we looked at were Puerto Ricans, Koreans and Polish refugees. But interspersed in this large area of eastern North Philadelphia were also other Latinos: Central Americans and South Americans, Asian Indians, Portuguese, and Southeast Asian refugees. So we had to incorporate a view of this much larger mosaic. We were first very sensitive to the differences in the backgrounds of the people who were coming. Koreans were coming into the country with very strong economic ties to other Korean-American communities and to their Korean homeland, and saw themselves as part of a large diaspora population, maintaining very close ties to their homeland. Puerto Ricans were very often coming in as circular migrants, moving back and forth to the island when life circumstances changed — but also, as secondary migrants from New York and New Jersey, with little contact with the island.

The Polish refugees that we were looking at were fourth wave refugees, seeing themselves as different and being seen as different from the '68 wave refugees, the post-war displaced person wave, and the earlier turn of the century wave of Polish immigration. So we were very conscious of the difference within groups, as Joe Giordano referred to earlier.

In the area of eastern North Philadelphia that we were studying, neighborhoods were all in a state of decline in terms of quality of life. People were regarding their situations as having declined significantly in recent years. There was a loss of local job market, loss of housing stock, increased abandoned housing and so on. And yet one of the things that struck us was that in the public discussions of change, very rarely did people talk about newcomers as being a source of problems, or newcomers as taking away jobs and housing stock. Military metaphors were very often used about standing our ground here, taking a stand, fighting off the forces that are destroying our neighborhood and making us leave. But those forces were always described in impersonal or institutional terms, and usually as city power structures, the school district and the media. I remember one community meeting always began by having some officer say, "Look what they've done to us now." And it was clear that the enemy was always the government in some form and not other groups. In fact self-censorship was so strong in the discourse of the public meetings that nobody ever used labels to describe people who were disobeying the rules and regulations of the local community. People talk about the violation of building codes, and about newcomers not knowing the rules. But they seem to assume that if they learn the rules or were taught the rules, everything would be all right.

There was a very strong definition that the community was acting as host to newcomers and that they were obligated to accept newcomers in the same way that their grandparents had been received, but that in return, newcomers had to pay them back with certain obligations. They had to be grateful. They had to move as slowly as their grandparents had moved. They should not be successful immediately. They should start at the bottom and work their way up. They were supposed to become like us and replace the populations that the community had lost as a result of housing abandonment and loss of jobs. There was an interesting definition of welcome. We welcome you, but we welcome you on our terms. You have to become like us, and you should do so quickly. There was also a very strong discussion of resentment, of perceived favoritism toward newcomers. This very often took the form of looking at areas of the community as becoming contested turf. Groups were seen as taking over churches or stores on the shopping strip.

There was a tremendous amount of flux in terms of people's notions of what groups were there. Skin color, language and nationality were used variously in constantly changing ways to define who you were and whom you were like. For example, there was constant confusion of Asian Indians, Hispanics and blacks on the basis of skin color. People were always confused and looking for other clues as to how to identify people. In

fact they didn't know how to do it. Many people in the community thought Asian Indians were black, or African-American. I remember one particular case where a boy in school, a Southeast Asian with dark skin was going around and comparing his skin color to Hispanic, light-skinned African American and Indian children saying, "See, I'm just like you."

The institutional structures had defined everyone in one of four categories: white, African-American, Hispanic and Asian. There really were very few other categories. People were constantly trying to fit the people they knew into those categories. The folk terms they used included Chinese as a gloss used for all Asians. Spanish was a gloss used for all Latinos. This was particularly interesting, since within the Spanish-speaking community there was a lot of jockeying for position: Puerto Ricans were trying to develop a local presence *as* Puerto Ricans, and some of the other Latino groups were trying to separate themselves from Puerto Ricans whom they saw as getting there first and having control of too many institutions and, perhaps, having a lower class status. There was constant denial and resistance to one label for all Latinos. Yet at one event after another, some established resident would get up and say, "Ok, and now the Spanish group will do their dance." So the confusion about who people were, where they came from and who was like who, was very strong.

One of the things that I would recommend when we develop programs for people, is that we take into account who is in the neighborhood and the various ways of distinguishing people by labels.

We were very pleased to find the tremendous amount of very close intimate personal relationships across groups. One of the things that lead to these relationships were common concerns with children or solving problems. Babysitting arrangements between established families and newcomer families lead to real strong nurturing and caring relationships. Block organizations that had to solve problems together, like cleaning up a very dirty abandoned yard to make a place for children to play got along well and on a sustained basis. We saw a tremendous amount of intermarriage and interdating. The number of people who had nieces and nephews from other groups was really astounding. One of the things that struck us was that here in these neighborhoods, where racial incidents occur and where the nasty events of the summer of '89 took place, people were experiencing mixing much more than they are in many of the more middle class suburban areas where there are more social boundaries in terms of everyday life. That's one point that I think is terribly important to make.

Children were important as brokers; they brought people together. Very few adults ever had anything to do with each other, because they had their own dense social networks based on their own kinship and friendship ties and they tended to avoid each other in public because of fear of having a multi-lingual conversation and being uncomfortable. But children brought them together; children were the ice breakers.

In the schools we a saw a very important phenomenon which underscores something that Irving Levine said. In the K through 8 schools that we were studying, a tremendous amount of interaction between people of cross-group lines occurred on a regular basis in the lower grades. But as soon as you began to approach the 8th grade and as soon as you began to prepare for entering into the high school (which you already heard from your brothers and sisters was a very structured place where there were turf lines between groups), you began to form separate groups. We saw many examples of people who suddenly stopped playing with their former best friends from other groups and started to develop identities within more closed groups. That is the situation which occurs, and it's something to which we need to pay a lot of attention.

Institutions, very often, exacerbate distance and avoidance without even knowing it. For example, in one school, which had a stable population because of one district policy, kids go through from kindergarten through 8th grade with extraordinary cross-group best friendships, because most of them had gone to school with the same children over the entire eight year period. Other schools which were constantly having their district boundaries changed and where the local population

kept shifting, tended to have much tighter boundaries around different ethnic groups. Very often policies that are created to control school population size end up enhancing or preventing stability and have real consequences for the degree to which boundaries form around a group.

There was also a tremendous amount of talk about appreciating diversity, but it was diversity at a distance — diversity that was performed through music and food at different events. In fact, the very way in which these festivals and events and international days at the schools were organized tended to keep people apart and tended to force them to compete for access to the people who were organizing the event, for time on the program and for places at the food table. Many of these events were structured in such a way as to keep people apart rather than to bring them together, even though their whole purpose was to bring people together. We also saw many instances of training programs for multi-cultural sensitivity in which the trainers had no awareness of who was in the neighborhood and who the groups were.

I cannot emphasize the notion of ethnic sharing enough. In schools where the official policy was to celebrate difference and to help people understand each other, the way in which difference was celebrated was at a distance, through performance. No ethnic sharing ever took place in the classroom. When I talked to teachers about why they never used their children's own experiences about where they came from and who they were in the classroom, I was told, "Well their lives were so painful and miserable we don't want to cause them grief." One of the most important ways to start having people develop an identity that is useful to them is by allowing them to use the classroom to share some of their own personal experiences rather than to reinforce abstract categories of culture and ethnicity which may have much less meaning.

Murray Dubin

Murray Dubin covers racial and ethnic issues for The Philadelphia Inquirer.

I counted the number of speakers in the brochure, and if you include the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor, there are 32 in the two days, and I appear to be the only journalist. So I guess for the purposes of this conference I am the media. That makes me a little nervous. I'd like everyone to keep their hands where I can see them and don't make any sudden movements.

I come at the subject of ethnicity a little differently than the other speakers you have heard today. I am not going to use any food metaphors. You'll not hear about melting pots or salad bowls from me, nor about tapestries or mosaics. I am not going to talk to you about the brotherhood of man, multi-cultural education or Puerto Rican independence. I'm here as a newspaper reporter who writes about cultural diversity, the brotherhood of man and Puerto Rican independence.

My motivation and my job is to tell people what's going on. There are fancier descriptions in journalism textbooks for what reporters do, but the description I like the best is this: to give readers a sense of what happened yesterday, a sense of what might happen tomorrow and how those events might affect your life. It's important for you to understand what I'm not. I am not a social worker. I am not an educator like Professor Goode. I am not a human relations specialist, and I'm certainly not a member of law enforcement. I know that the effect and impact of what reporters and editors do can often be seen as community relations, or education and sometimes even law enforcement. At times we even get lucky and put someone in jail, but in most cases that is not why we do it. At the *Inquirer*, my job is to cover racial and ethnic issues in the same way that we have reporters at the *Inquirer* who cover the Phillies, who cover SEPTA, and who cover Governor Casey. I cover everything from Cambodian New Year's celebrations to the Ku Klux Klan.

My job is not a common one in American newspapers, and I don't know why not. I began doing it in 1986 and I wish I could tell you I had very high minded reasons for developing my beat, such as improving human relations, but that would be a lie. This beat was begun because I made it up and because it seemed to me to be a good way to do stories that no one else appeared to be doing. If my job is to tell people what's going on, and there are more and more Puerto Ricans and Laotians and Soviet Jews and Poles and Jamaicans in the city of Philadelphia and the region, then they are part of what's going on. It's really as simple as that. Those people, whether they be ethnic groups, racial groups, new citizens like Puerto Ricans who come to the mainland, they are not on the minds of the reporters and editors enough. And the reverse is true. We're not on their minds enough. It seemed to be that I had an untapped well of stories to do, and it's four years later and I'm still busy.

I have been a reporter (and for a few years I was an editor) for about 20 years now. It has been my experience that most people have no idea how I do what I do. If someone else at this conference asks me where my column appears in the *Inquirer* I'm going to scream. Columnists have columns, reporters do not. I have no column in the *Inquirer*. People who are very, very bright about a host of subjects are befuddled by, and generally distrustful, of the media. What we do is not difficult, yet I continually meet people who don't have a clue about how the paper comes out every day. Let me give you just a clue about how I do my job and perhaps more important, give you a sense of how you can help me do it better.

Every day there is too much news — too much news in the city, too much news in the state, in the region, the nation, and the world. "All the news that's fit to print" is not the *New York Times'* slogan by accident. There is too much news. You could not pay for the newspaper everyday if all the news was in it, nor would you have time to read it. Journalists, whether working for a newspaper or a radio station or a magazine or a TV station act as filters and gate keepers. We keep some stories in and we throw some stories out. What makes that process so mysterious to so many people is that it is a process. It is not an art or a science, but rather a process that's very subjective. Reporters and editors make decisions based on instinct, on intuition, and on professional judgement. Many times

one look at a story is all I need to know if it is news. Sometimes I need days to make that decision. It is difficult to explain what news is. If I asked ten of you to make that definition, I'd get ten correct answers. A Supreme Court justice, I think it was Potter Stewart, was once asked to define pornography. He had trouble, but what he said was, "I'd know it if I see it." I think that's a good definition for news.

News is magnified by drama and surprise and significance. If Mike Tyson had knocked out Buster Douglas it wouldn't have been on the front page of every paper in America the next day. The assassination of the president is a bigger story than the president living another day. A public official caught breaking the law is a better story than a public official doing his job day in and day out. News is also what people are talking about. If you are not in touch with refugee or immigrant or newcomer communities you don't know what they're talking about. So it is important for a newspaper or any other form of media to do a story about the local Panamanian reaction to the American invasion of Panama. It's important to do a story about Holocaust survivors and how they view the possible reunification of Germany. It's important to do a story about Cambodians in a city reacting to street crime and how they're putting bars up on their windows.

News is also information about how people lead their lives. It is a story about an Italian cemetery — a profile of a place for the dead that is changing because the sons and daughters of Italians in Philadelphia invariably don't live close to their parents anymore so they're not being buried there. It is a story about young Puerto Rican men and how much they like a certain car, Toyotas. It's a story about how cab drivers, very often, are immigrants. The cab driver story, I think, is very illustrative of how I do what I do. I take a lot of cabs and invariably the cab driver was Iranian or Iraqi, or Nigerian or a Soviet Jew. I couldn't find a cab driver who was an American boy. And I asked people, and they had the same experience. And I said, what's going on? So I called the cab company and I went to the airport and then I went to the train station and I found out that cab driving is a great job for a newcomer. I wrote a story about it. Would the world had suffered if I hadn't written about foreign-born cab drivers? Absolutely not. But I think it makes everybody a little bit smarter about the way life is lived in Philadelphia. I want to give people a sense about what's going on, and that's an example of what's going on.

About a month ago, two other reporters and I had published a series of stories about Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia. It was basically a profile of the Puerto Rican community. We wrote that story because there are more and more Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia living in more and more neighborhoods. We wrote about the down side and the up side. We wrote about drugs, and we wrote about culture. We wrote about Puerto Rican poetry, and we wrote about health problems. We wrote about that community because they're out there. They're part of Philadelphia, and I think the media has to do a better job writing about people who don't come to their door saying, "Write about me."

Another part of what I do is poke holes in racial and ethnic stereotypes, both positive stereotypes and negative ones. I do that because it's fun. I have written stories about Jamaicans in Philadelphia who are not drug dealers, and in fact that is the majority of the Jamaican community in Philadelphia. I have written stories about Jews who have committed violent crimes and are in prison. Jews do commit violent crimes and are in prison. I even wrote a story about Chinese professionals in Philadelphia who were sick and tired of being asked by their non-Chinese friends for recommendations to a Chinese restaurant. One particular friend of mine couldn't understand why no one asked him about Italian food, because that's what he knew about, but others assumed it was Chinese food.

Besides writing about ethnicity I also write about hate groups and racism. Bias is also my beat. So I write about violence and shouted epithets. I write about the first blacks on an all white street and how neighbors react to that. I write about Stephen Crespo, a young Puerto Rican teenager who was killed last year by a young white man. I write about whether racism is really worse in America in 1990 or not, and as Mr. Levine said, that's really a difficult question to answer. I

write about how difficult it is for police and the news media to determine if an incident is racially motivated or not. I write about the Klan. I write about neo-Nazis. I write about racists.

I do my job by a very scientific process. I call it "*shmoozing*." I am the *shmoozer* and the people I *shmooze* with are the *shmoozees*. There are people in this audience, and I will not embarrass them, who are *shmoozees*. I call people up and say, "What's going on." I call up cops. I call up people in ethnic organizations. I call up people on human relations commissions. And I chat with them. Invariably, people within groups don't recognize the stories of their groups, so I have to talk to them. I don't want to hear the saddest words the reporter can hear, "Ooh, I didn't think that was a story."

May I ask all of you, if you think that there is anything going on in your community, in your commission, in your agency, tell a reporter. Don't be afraid to have someone say no to you. Reporters say no all the time, but they need stories all the time, every day in fact. Please don't be shy. There's nothing in the Constitution that says the relationship between the public and the media has to be hostile. It doesn't have to be. Use reporters. Play them like a fiddle, if you have to. I invite you to.

If skinheads are coming to town and you know a skinhead who is reformed, tell a reporter. If there has been an area of your city where there has been racial tension, and an inter-racial couple moved in and nothing happened, tell a reporter. Try to become a gate keeper for the gate keepers. You all have some expertise, something you're smart about. Use it, tell a reporter about it. We can all do our jobs more fairly and more accurately and more completely with your help. I'll be back at work on Monday morning. I get in about 10. I answer my phone. I expect it to be ringing.

Questions and Discussion

Question: My name is Arnold Silvers. I'm the Jewish-American Commissioner to the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission from Philadelphia. I want to commend you, Dr. Liu, on a very fine panel this afternoon. I think we owe a rousing vote of thanks to Dr. Shalom Staub for his excellent preparation after months and months. Shalom, all of us have done organization work, and we know that an affair like today's did not happen just by chance. It is an indication of the meticulous planning and the professionalism that you brought to this job, and the people on this day are indicative of the very high caliber of professionalism. We do thank you.

Now a statement. Dr. Staub, I imagine that you might have titled this program instead of the Conference on Ethnicity, you might have called it, with due apologies to Jane Austin, "Pride and Prejudice." Pride in the fact that we all as members of our various ethnic groups take a great deal of pride in what our group represents, and prejudice, that by virtue of the fact that there is such diversity in this community, all of us find that the differences that separate us often lead to prejudice because of misunderstanding.

My question to a member of the panel, mainly Mr. Dubin, is as follows. I came here a little bit disturbed about the fact that on many, many occasions the media doesn't just report the news but rather it seems to inject into the news opinions that result in bias, prejudice, misunderstanding. But I've lost some of my fire because of the way you presented yourself as a very responsible individual who is sensitive to the issues, but I would say this to you in all sincerity. I would appreciate if you would take back to your editors the fact that here today you attended a conference at which were represented dozens of very talented people in the field of ethnic issues, of pride and prejudice, and that perhaps we might volunteer our services to your newspaper as an advisory committee when you need second opinions on what perhaps is the way to express yourself in editorials and in cartoons. I think that you are an excellent spokesman to convey that thought. And if you get a positive answer, I'm sure that Dr. Staub will be most anxious and helpful in implementing this recommendation. Thank you.

Question: My name is Mike Esposito. I want to make a comment to Mr. Dubin. I read the article that you and your colleagues prepared on the Puerto Ricans of Philadelphia, and I must say that it was an excellent article. For me, I thought it was a road map to the Puerto Rican community, and I think it is something you should be proud of.

Question: My name is Faye Leibowitz, and I'm with the Western Pennsylvania Jewish Archives of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. I had a question for Mr. Dubin. I just wondered if you have any contact with the ethnic press in Philadelphia and what type of contacts you might have with regard to getting leads on stories from them?

Dubin: I do know people in the ethnic press. I don't read any languages other than English. I read papers ranging from Turkish papers to Puerto Rican ones in English, and I often steal stories from all these papers. I can think of several from the Puerto Rican press and from the *Jewish Exponent* in Philadelphia. I don't have much face to face dealing with members of the ethnic press. I see them covering events. I don't deal with them in terms of exchanges of information.

I'd also like to say, by the way, I travel. If anybody has a wonderful story outside of the confines of Philadelphia, that's great.

Liu: I would like to make a brief closing comment. It was about two years ago, I was appointed to be one of the commissioners of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission. At the time I had no idea what this assignment was going to turn out to be; however, as we gathered together in the committee meetings, every commissioner has exhibited enormous enthusiasm, dedication, and devotion for the mission of the Commission. We all believed

that this Commission is not a body that is primarily geared toward ceremonies, but a body that is going to make some waves and do something. I am extremely proud to be a part of this endeavor which has resulted in this wonderful conference.

It is a testimony to the greatness of this country that a person with my background, who came to this country in 1966 as an alien student, who had nothing — all I had was the American dream, and yes, today, I'm standing here in front of you as your colleague, as your brother, and advocating the philosophy and the concept of one race and the concept of a nation that is universal. How wonderful that is. We are extremely lucky to be citizens of America. And we must treasure this legacy of the American dream. We must do everything we can from here on, every day, try to understand each other, try to work together, try to discover the beauty and the truth of all the brothers and sisters here in the state of Pennsylvania, in the whole United States. I think we're on to something great and I am very proud that you have given me the opportunity to be a part of it. Thank you very much.

Keynote Address I

Michael Novak

Michael Novak holds the Frederick Jewett Chair in Religion and Public Policy at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. Among his many publications is The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics.

I am always especially happy to come home to Pennsylvania. I love these mountains, but more than that I love the people of Pennsylvania — good honest and hardworking people from every culture on earth, people with a great deal of common sense and a great many harsh experiences behind them. It is an unusual and very gritty part of the country, a very great resource for a writer, for anyone trying to interpret what is going on in the world today.

I was asked to address the subject of ethnicity, a large subject, and one that Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan calls the most powerful force in the world. This year we are living through one of the great years of history. Surely 1989 will go down as a vintage year, a year to rank with 1776 and 1789 and 1848, which schoolchildren will have to memorize and of which poets will sing. I shall never forget the picture of that young lad in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, in front of the tank: every time it turned he moved in front of it again and again.

I shall never forget the pictures of the students marching in Beijing with the statue of the "Goddess of Liberty," as they called her. The image was quite westernized, as they clearly intended. In Shanghai some miles away, another group of students had a statue modelled directly on the Statue of Liberty. They knew exactly what they were doing.

Nor will I forget a middle aged man, by the name of Zdenek, in a brewery in Prague in November of last year standing on a box before his fellow workers and saying, "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In other words, it has been a year in which citizens from widely different parts of the planet have looked to the American experiment which the framers called *Novus ordo seclorum* — The New Order of the Ages. It was, first of all, a new order. There was none like it in the world, not in France, Britain, Constantinople, Morocco, nor any of the other places the founders had read about or studied. Nineteen eighty-nine and 1990 are years in which people from around the world are turning their eyes in the direction of this experiment, exactly as President Washington, in his farewell address, predicted that they would. One day, he said, the peoples of the world would repair to the example of what was begun here.

One thing we have done remarkably well as a country: we have brought together people from every part of the globe, people who in other places are still today feuding interminably with each other and killing each other. Here we all live, not without tension and friction and conflict, but in peace and with a remarkable capacity for mutual respect. We hold friendship and civic responsibility banquets all over the country, giving one another awards for service to the whole community, in a way that crosses ethnic lines and tries deliberately to recognize people from each of our many different backgrounds. It has been a tremendous achievement, this achievement of multi-culturalism. Here, tonight our meeting itself is a celebration of our nation's motto, "Out of many, one."

We are easily identified as Americans wherever we go in the world, whatever our color, however we try to disguise ourselves in choosing our clothing, or whatever our knowledge of other languages. It takes people around the world only a minute to learn that we are Americans. They often tell us so, (sometimes to our embarrassment because we are trying to go incognito.) There is

something about this country that gets into us and marks us out. We are one, and yet we also well know we are many. We carry with us different memories.

Each of us is born of a single woman. None of us is born as the universal representative. Each of us comes out of a tradition or a mix of traditions, out of a linguistic, religious, cultural heritage, out a tradition of family life that is different from any other. Family life is one of the most important things that differentiates cultures. The emotions that run through a family tend to vary by culture in interesting, significant, subtle, and often quite powerful ways — all the more powerful because they are hidden and unconscious.

Michael Barone, one of our best writers on American politics, publishes every two years the *Almanac of American Politics*. Quite a young man, he grew up in Detroit and has recently published a book called *Our Country*. If you have not read it, you might want to put it on your reading list. It is a magnificent book. One of its theses is that the most important characteristics of American politics, the feature that shifts elections more than any other feature, is not economics, which is what most of our social scientists think, but culture. He runs through the elections from 1930 through the present and demonstrates this in a most powerful, convincing, and detailed way. But he ends the introduction to his book with a marvelous sentence that has this as its theme: that all around the world people keep looking to this, our country, as their model for what they would like their country to be. What a shock this suddenly is, after decades of anti-Americanism. Over the last 30 years, we have become used to being thought of as the ugly Americans. I am not sure we are going to be able to get used to being suddenly admired by everybody, and imitated from Beijing to Prague. That new twist is going to take some adjustment.

I do not mean that people elsewhere admire our persons or our behavior. Rather, they very much admire the system that allows us to be what we are, even when we are less than we ought to be. Even from afar, they see the basic design of that system — a system that has three parts. The liberation for which the Statue of Liberty stands is three liberations. The first people who conceived of it called themselves, and were called by others, liberals. The first liberal flags all had three colors in them, suggesting, perhaps unconsciously, these three liberations. (The first socialist flag had only one color, red, because it is a much simpler system. One party, one small group, makes all the decisions — political, economic, and moral-cultural.)

The first liberation is an economy with greater freedom than any other economy in preceding history. This liberation brought about a liberation from poverty for unprecedented numbers and to an unprecedented degree. America was the first of the nations to which large numbers of the world's poor came. Almost all the immigrants who came were poor and within a generation or two, were no longer poor. We were the first nation in the world in which a majority was not poor, while France, even 50 years after the adoption of our Constitution, was being described by its best writer as a country of *Les Miserables* — "the miserable ones" — living at a level of poverty unimaginable in America.

The second liberation, a part we more often honor, was political liberty: liberty from torture and tyranny.

The third liberation, more remarkable still, is the liberty to pursue happiness each in his or her own way, although typically in association with others. People do not usually pursue happiness alone. They do it in the way they are taught by their families, the people of their neighborhood, their local community, and their church: through the communities that give them their first meaning of the word "we." Before they embrace the whole human community, people begin by embracing a particular world, a particular tradition within it. This cultural and moral liberation is the one, according to Michael Barone, that is by far the most potent politically.

In 1950, as I was graduating from college, social scientists were saying that ethnicity (and with it religion) was in decline. They held what was called the "secularization thesis." Although people would keep going to church, they said, the real meaning of religion would become thinner and gradually disappear. Ethnicity, tradition, lan-

guages, belonging, memory, would also decline. Some of us in those days used to call this the "Coca-Colonization of the world" or the "homogenization of the world." Everybody would use the same products everywhere in the world. In American universities and in the Marxist world, all were saying the same thing: the only really important factor is economics, and the only important fact social change would come from the redistribution of income. Workers of the world would unite, and ethnicity would disappear. Well, that has not happened.

Look at the USSR today. Marxism as a idea and as an ideal has died. Solzhenitsyn said fifteen years ago that nobody can speak of Marx today without a sardonic grin. But ethnicity is alive. The Lithuanians are willing to bear the most systematic economic punishments the Soviet Union can impose in order to be free to be Lithuanian. This is true also of the Armenians, the Georgians, the Azerbaijanis, the Ukrainians, and the others. It is not at all clear whether the Soviet Union five or ten years from now will be fourteen republics or one.

Look also to Africa. Because of our history in the United States, we conceive things dualistically in terms of race and do not notice that patterns of culture, memory, and belonging are as various among the blacks as among whites. Think of the bitter struggle in Nigeria between the Nigerians and the Biafrans. Think of the enormous in South Africa, not just against apartheid and between the English and the Dutch Calvinists, but also the struggles among the tribes and factions among blacks, between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC. One could march all the way around Africa and see the enormous power of culture, language, and history.

Think of Lebanon, tearing itself apart over a boundary line partly of religious, partly of linguistic, partly cultural ethnic division. Think of Northern Ireland or the restlessness which is gripping Quebec today.

Canada's experiment was quite different from ours. Canada allowed ethnicity to be identified with territorial claims, wherein one ethnic group would claim a whole territory. By contrast one of our great blessings is that that did not happen here. You are free to retain whatever memory and associations you like, but not free to make a territorial claim that would exclude others. Thinking about ethnicity and belonging as a cultural and moral rather than a territorial matter is an enormous blessing for us.

To repeat Senator Moynihan's claim again: ethnicity and religion are surprisingly (at least to the social scientists) turning out to be the most powerful influences at the end of the twentieth century. Far from being diminished, they seem to be hotter, more intense than ever before. I don't know if you have ever heard the joke attributed to Pope John Paul II. There have been so many sorrows in central Europe. The solution to the central European problem (according to the story attributed to the Pope) is twofold: a miraculous solution and a realistic solution. The realistic solution is for our Lady of Czestochowa suddenly to appear with Jesus and all the saints and solve the central European crisis. That is the realistic solution. The miraculous solution is for the central Europeans to cooperate and agree to solve the central European crisis.

Ethnicity is a powerful force, but it can also be a destructive force. Everything depends on the kind of system in which it arises and is nourished, and everything depends on how we nurture and keep alive the strengths of that system. If we misuse a pluralistic system, we can destroy ourselves over our divisions, or we can destroy ourselves by enforcing homogenization. The trouble with being a free people is that there is nobody else to blame but ourselves. Each generation has to do things right. Each generation has to relearn the old lessons. That is something ironic and terrible about the human race: that it is almost impossible to pass along the necessary wisdom, even to your own children, let alone across two generations. Free people have to reconstitute their system all over again, which is why Thomas Jefferson said that there should be not just one American revolution, but a new revolution every eighteen and one-third years, which he computed to be the average life of a generation.

About eighteen and one-third years ago, a number of us worked on a project we called "The New

Ethnicity." Irving Levine was one of the great pioneers in this movement. We owe to him and to the American Jewish Committee (which sponsored what was then called "The Project on Group Pluralism,") a great deal of gratitude for their help in getting a great many of us around the country together to think about these things in concert. For ethnicity is something not easy to understand if you stay solely within your own group. You do not know what it is to grow up or belong in America if you look at it only in the way your own history suggests. You have to see how different it was for other groups, how different it was for African-Americans, Italian-Americans, Jewish-Americans, Slavic-Americans, or Anglo-Americans.

Thus, in the early 1970s, a group of us came together to try to describe the new ethnicity. Let me say a word about why we called it "new." In the old ethnicity, in the 1940s, Americans tended to grow up in neighborhoods where we hardly ever met people who were different. Go back and reread the novels of World War II. Every platoon in the war seemed to have a "Billy Joe from Texas," a "Sven from Minnesota," an "Alvin from Kentucky," a "Mario from Scranton," a "Norman from Brooklyn," and so on. Every ethnic group seemed to be represented in that platoon. The story line included the fact that these Americans, people who had never encountered such diversity, were meeting one another for the first time up close. Then, after the war, there came Howard Johnsons, Holiday Inns, superhighways, and suburbs, and in the next two generations we tended to grow up next door to and go to school with many people who were different from ourselves. We did not stay within the same ethnic group. At first it looked as if in the melting pot we would all become the same, but then the great search for "roots" came into being, and the great reality of cultural memory reasserted itself. Even though we were all together and now knew the others, there was still a sense in which each of us had something special, a slightly different point of view to contribute.

That is what made the new ethnicity "new." It was not founded on ignorance of the others; it was founded on knowledge of the others. That very knowledge began to show each of us, in interesting ways, that our own political allegiances, political insights, religion, sense of family history, history of emotions and feelings, the way we understood pain and the rest of it, had its own characteristics. In some families, if men are quiet, that is regarded as strength and dignity. Men who are men do not fuss very much. In other family traditions, men who are quiet are a worry. Shout and yell and get angry two or three times a day as if by moral obligation. In some cultures, men don't cry, but not a tree grows in Russia without a man shedding tears on it, as you can see from the novels of Dostoyevski. Emotional histories differ.

In the new ethnicity, people were still crying at different times. Remember Ed Muskie, presenting himself often as a good Yankee in New England, but when his wife was insulted one day at a crucial moment in the campaign, he cried. There is nothing wrong with a Pole crying or a Slav crying: not a tree grows in central Europe if a man doesn't cry on it, but in America, Yankees should not cry. That tear going down his face caused a sixteen point drop in his standing before the primary in New Hampshire that year. Gary Cooper would not cry, but Ed Muskie did, and I thought better of him for it.

There was considerable advancement in ethnic awareness in the 1970s. Very few of our groups had leaders as great as Martin Luther King, Jr., or produced a book that was a powerful as Alex Haley's *Roots*. But what we all had in mind for the new ethnicity was to defuse what many of us thought was going to be a racially and ethnically divided decade. The 1970s, if you look back on it, did turn out to be a fairly bitter decade, but on the ethnic and racial front, it went remarkably peaceably, although it might not have done so. Lots of people were predicting backlash and struggles that did not happen. There were signs of racial backlash in at least one of Mayor Rizzo's campaigns in its beginnings, and then people insisted that it be cooled. In Philadelphia, ethnic leadership from many backgrounds worked very hard to bring their communities together. In the 1970s there was a dog that didn't bark.

The 1970s turned out to be, in these respects, a remarkably, peaceable decade. It is now hard to prove that the people in our various groups who

tried hard to cooperate actually prevented what did not happen, but that is what all of us intended to do. We wanted to prevent ethnic confrontation. And indeed, it did not happen.

There are some new horizons opening up in the 1990s, and I think they go like this. In the last two decades, we have admitted more immigrants into this country legally (let alone the millions who have come illegally) than in any other decade in our history except two. We are living again in the era of immigration. Immigration is not over in the United States. It is entering its biggest years. Moreover, most of the immigrants who came in the '70s and '80s were not white. They came predominantly from Asia and Latin America; there were almost as many (I am exaggerating a bit) from Africa as from Europe. Europeans do not come in anything like the numbers they used to. Most of the immigrants who came have succeeded remarkably well. Many high school valedictorians are obviously newcomers to the country. In the Westinghouse Science Awards, something over half of the 40 award winners in a recent year were immigrants or children of immigrants, many of whom did not speak English when they came.

These facts have relieved the American worry of the 1960s and 70s. Some Americans worried that America *used* to be a land of opportunity but that that period was now over. It is not over. Immigration has continued, and people have proven that opportunity exists. They have taken splendid advantage of it, and honored us all. There is another feature. The new immigrants have shown that race is not the central issue of American life, that "non-white" people can do very well indeed, as the large majority of every single racial group in the United States have. There is a minority in every group that is not doing so well, and in some groups it is disproportionately larger than in other groups, but we do not talk nearly enough about the success stories in each of our communities.

One sign of this transformation is already apparent. Jesse Jackson was attuned to this when he urged the shift from speaking of "black-Americans" to "African-Americans." I think that was a watershed in American history. Subtly but effectively, Jackson took the emphasis off race and began speaking of the black experience in the United States as an African experience in the way we would speak in my case, of a Slovak experience or an Italian-American experience. The concept of ethnicity can help us to understand one another by analogy as we learn to look in the experience of others for correlatives that things we have experienced ourselves, and to find in each group something different that we have to learn, if we want to understand what it is to be an American. We cannot understand what it is to be an American from our own group alone. To try to understand what it is to be an American, we have to understand each and all of our component peoples.

Enormous devastation is occurring in our major cities. In the sections in which poverty is the most heavily concentrated, our one hundred largest cities are experiencing a devastation that slavery itself did not cause. Nothing in American history has caused as much anguish as is there now. In the city where I now live, Washington, D.C., 70% of the young children are born out of wedlock. That means almost certainly that these children will not have two parents to help them through the many struggles ahead. Typically missed will be the father's presence, both for the sake of discipline and for the sake of introducing the child, particularly a male child, into the world of his friends and his work, giving him the first contacts and names to approach in finding a job, and advice about how to prepare for a job, and how to get through the initial rough spots in it. Each one of us, thinking back, can easily remember how much we owe a father in these respects.

The devastation that drugs are causing on top of this is horrifying. You may have read about "crack babies." Before they even have a chance, they have been deeply injured internally in their nervous systems and in their brains. They number in the thousands. There is in our midst a plague that all Americans need to be concerned about, and we will not be healthy as a country until we all try to help the communities that are hurting the most.

Many of the problems I am describing are spreading to rural areas, as well. Beginning in 1985, there were more white children born out of wedlock often in rural areas than black or Hispanic. Thus, something dreadful is quietly

happening in our midst and injuring the very tissue of the family, which is the nurturing place not only of ethnicity, but of all our values.

There was a report of a task force in New York State on minorities. I wish they had called it "on ethnicity," but it was called it "on minorities." This task force made a proposal that I think is misguided. It argued that the ethnic heritage of every one of us is equal and that the school system should treat each ethnic heritage, religion, history, geography, and so forth equally and diminish the influence of what the report called "American European culture." I think it is proper and good that the humanities should be taught in a planetary way, just as when there is a disaster in the world — Chernobyl, a monsoon in India, an earthquake in Nicaragua or Italy — people in the United States get on the telephone to find out whether the members of their families are all right, whether they have survived intact. Our nation is, in a sense, the nervous system of the whole planet. Touch the world any place, and you affect an American family whose relatives live there. Our educational system, therefore, should deal with Africa, India, China, Korea and all the parts of the earth because our children are going to grow up in an interdependent world. But I also think there must be an emphasis upon the ideas and traditions that grew up in that nexus of the world between three continents: in Jerusalem, Rome, Athens, and Alexandria. Those four centers were the early nests which incubated the American way of dealing with pluralism. There is no other place on earth that has taught people of so many different backgrounds to be aware of who they are, to respect others who are different, and to cooperate with others every day, as we do in this country. We are only able to do that here because of a special kind of system, based on a special heritage of ideas. These ideas are not available anywhere else unless they are borrowed from us. That is why the Chinese students, quite self-consciously, did not worry that they had shaped the face of a western woman on the goddess of liberty. The ideas of liberty they needed are found in Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Paris, London, and New York. The Chinese students did not mind using the Statue of Liberty because the *novus ordo* that they want to imitate is not available in their own place. We have to cherish certain particular ideas that allow us to live in the pluralism we now share. In that respect (and I say this as one who comes from central Europe, from a Slavic background), I thank God every day that American politics did not come from the Slavic world but from the Anglo-Saxon world. This is the gift of English law to the world. It is a precious gift for Americans. It did not come from everywhere. You will not find it by studying the history of other places. The roots of our system are particular and precious.

I hope you take the point I am trying to make: that there are some ideas, institutions, and a special history that allow us to be many and one at the same time. While we celebrate our diversity and respect each of our traditions, we must above all, cherish that special one.

Let me conclude with this example. When the British go to battle, they say as Shakespeare did, "God for Harry, England, and St. George." The French pledge allegiance to a language, as in Quebec. The Germans to a *Volk* — a people. But Americans do not pledge allegiance to any one of these things, not to a land, not to a folk, not a language, and not to a history. When we pledge allegiance to the flag, we pledge allegiance "to the republic for which it stands." That is what holds us together, the republic, the system. Take away the republic, and the deal is off. The republic — the form of our self-governance — is what binds us. That republic allows us to celebrate our diversity, so we must give it an honored place.

The system that has made our country what it is has taught us how to be who we are, to respect each other and to love each other, exactly because we are different. It has taught us, above all, to do that most miraculous of all things, to cooperate in solving the concrete problems that weigh upon us, on some of our communities at one time more than on others. At such moments, let us come to the assistance of the most needy ones.

Plenary Session IV

Multi-Cultural Education

Shium Andrew Chen

Andrew Chen is a Professor of Counseling and Educational Psychology at Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania and a former President of the Organization of Chinese Americans. He serves as Chinese American Commissioner on the H. ritage Affairs Commission and co-chairs the Asian American Task Force.

The Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission has identified a number of major priorities and issues facing Pennsylvanians. One of the top priorities, one of the critical issues facing Pennsylvania as well as facing the United States of America is multi-cultural education. In a way we heard about this phrase many years ago, but we are still catching up. Twenty-five years after the civil rights movement, we made some political headway, but educationally we are still dragging our feet. It's hard to implement, hard to reflect the spirit of civil rights in our schools. I attended a commencement last night in a high school. Every speaker emphasized individuality, "be yourself," in front of the priest, to the principal, to the superintendent. But looking around they all were wearing their cap and gown, I'm not sure whether we emphasized more uniformity and conformity.

All the commissioners, thirty-nine commissioners from different ethnic communities, have expressed their major concern about language education, about cultural heritage and the maintenance of culture and also the preservation of cultural heritage. So I am most delighted to have such outstanding and distinguished panel members in our panel this morning. But I also must say one thing; we do have distinguished leaders across the state in the audience as well. That is everyone, each one of you. And your presence alone indicates your commitment, your interest in multi-cultural education, which means to make education more meaningful to our children and also recognize their individual differences, their cultural heritage.

Joseph Makarewicz

Joseph Makarewicz is Director of the Pennsylvania Ethnic Heritage Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh.

As Professor Chen indicated, there is a great deal of interest in the area multi-cultural education today. The fact is that without any discussion of multi-cultural education, this conference would have been meaningless, because it is in our children that we really have to think about the future of ethnicity. We have to try and find innovative and creative ways which will enable these children to learn about and appreciate their cultural heritage. Multi-culturalism and pluralism is very much alive. This conference is certainly evidence of this particular factor. Other factors that demonstrate how important ethnicity is and how education can play a very big role, is the event that occurred in Pittsburgh within the last two weeks.

There was a statue of a steelworker that was placed down at the Point in Pittsburgh for an annual arts festival. It was supposed to reflect the ethnic character of the working class people in the Pittsburgh area. It was a very fine piece of sculpture, but on the back of the coat of the steelworker was the word "hunky." Now that automatically became a big problem for a lot of the ethnic people in the Pittsburgh area. The Croatian Fraternal Union, the Polish Falcons of America, the NAACP and a number of other groups quickly attacked this idea because "hunky" has generally been used as a derogatory term in most of the history [by outsiders]. The word was eventually removed. The point is that people are very much interested in the idea of ethnicity today, and they certainly want to see this taught in their schools.

This is quite a contrast to the situation 11 1/2 years ago when I became director of the Pennsylvania Ethnic Heritage Studies Center. When the Center was created, it was established by the legislature of Pennsylvania. It is a unique institution; there is no other such center anywhere else in the United States established by a state legislature. We have a four-fold mission: to develop curriculum materials for teachers and to train them in the use of curriculum materials in the areas of multi-cultural heritage of Pennsylvania. We also have a mandate to do basic research in that area as well as collect and preserve materials for an archive. We have an archive at the University of Pittsburgh.

Eleven years ago I was asked, "Joe, why are you doing this? Why are you taking on this job of an ethnic studies center?" I was told by many in 1979 that ethnicity was dying out, and that by the end of the century we will only talk about ethnicity as something in our past, not as a part of our future.

There certainly were a lot of ethnic jokes around. As a result of my own Polish heritage I was frequently asked, do I want to hear Polish jokes. I firmly said "no" but they would be told to me anyway. My choices were to slug the person, to try and tell another ethnic joke about their group, or try and ignore it. I didn't like it, but I really didn't know how to react to it. Two things happened at that time that changed not only my attitude toward the whole idea about ethnicity, but the attitude of a lot of other people began to change too. In October of 1978 a Polish priest by the name of Karol Wolyia was elected Pope — the first Slavic and the first Polish Pope of the Catholic Church. This had a tremendous impact upon both the Slavs and upon the Polish people. It certainly had a significant effect upon my own attitude. It went from a defensive to an offensive attitude toward my own ethnicity and towards the whole subject of ethnicity. To give you an example of how I reacted, someone still would come up an say, "Do you want to hear a Polish joke?" and I said very enthusiastically, "Yes, please tell me a Polish joke." They began telling me, and I immediately stopped them. And they looked at me inquisitively and they said, "What's the matter?" And I said, "I thought you said it was a Polish joke?" They said, "It is." I said, "Well, then tell me in Polish, I understand Polish, tell me in Polish." Needless to say, that ended the joke, or took the punchline out of the joke, or took away their enthusiasm for telling me the joke. Also I began to tell Polish jokes of my own, but in a more positive sense.

The second thing that happened in this time frame, that changed not only my attitude but the attitude of many others towards the whole con-

cept of ethnicity, was the appearance of a large number of new immigrants from Asia, Latin America and to a limited extent, Africa. This is a trend which began in the mid 70s and promises to continue at least until the 21st century. Demographic reports from the United States Census Bureau indicate that by the year 2020 the Euro-ethnic population in proportion to the non-Euro-ethnic population, namely the Asian, Latino and African populations in the United States will be something like 63% to 37% where as now it's over 70% versus 30%.

In 1986 another development occurred. I was commissioned to participate in a study by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives' Legislative Office of Research Liaisons (LORL). This study was commissioned specifically by former speaker of the House of Pennsylvania, K. Leroy Irvis, who is of African-American heritage. He was concerned about the fact that little was being done in the public and private schools and colleges in Pennsylvania to train teachers and students in their own cultural heritage. So he asked that a number of us begin to look into the situation in Pennsylvania. The study resulted in the recognition that ethnic studies in the 1980s compared to the 1970s was sparse and that there was a drastic decline in the number of schools, school districts, colleges and universities offering courses dealing with specific ethnic groups or dealing with the whole subject of ethnicity or immigration. Another thing that the study pointed out was that most of the curriculum and resource materials that had been developed dealing with ethnic groups had been developed in the late 1960s or early 1970s and not much else had been done in the 80s. Another problem that developed was that most of the studies that were being done were of a specific ethnic group, rather than a comparative or holistic approach toward ethnicity. They would be studying one group versus another group, and this always meant other groups were left out. But worse, it frequently lead to stereotypes and conflicts within the schools. I, myself, did not like this particular approach towards ethnicity, and I looked for an alternative. The alternative I suggested was that we adopt an interdisciplinary, comparative and more broadly focused approach towards the study of ethnicity and multi-culturalism in our society — one that would start with individual students discovering their own ethnic identity, then that of their community, then of the nation, and then of the world, a more or less global dimension of ethnicity. We can see the importance of that today because of the events taking place in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the areas of ethnicity. I was then asked to develop a curriculum by LORL. I was very fortunate at the time because I was working with a very intelligent and talented person by the name of Susan Donley. I described to Sue what I would like to see happen, supplied some data and sources and made some suggestions and criticisms and she developed the specific and original curriculum ideas.

At first we did a curriculum for secondary schools but soon found out that we needed an elementary program as well. As a result of this project we came up with a two volume study: an elementary (K through 6) and a 7 through 12th grade curriculum. I was very happy with the materials because it was everything I wanted and it avoided everything I wanted to avoid. We did not discourage the study of specific ethnic groups in our particular project. We encourage it by those who identify with that particular group and to share their experience with others of the same group and other groups. This is a curriculum for teachers with specific exercises and resources which they are encouraged to use in their classrooms. It uses community, personal, as well as academic sources to help teachers and citizens study their ethnic and multi-cultural backgrounds. The response has been tremendous. Requests for the curriculum and the workshop and in-service programs have been more than expected, and they have come from all over the country and from abroad.

We are not leaving it at this particular project. This is a project which is interdisciplinary but mainly for social studies and humanities teachers. What about arts teachers, science teachers, home economics teachers, music teachers and other areas? We hope to develop resources in those areas. Sue is about to complete an arts and crafts curriculum guide on multi-culturalism and there will be a kit with it.

Let me conclude by saying that our approach, *Towards a Better Balance* (that's the title of our curriculum) is not the only approach. It is one approach that seems to be proving itself in the schools because the teachers are using it, the students seem to be enjoying it and we are getting an awful lot of calls for it. We have gotten to the point now where it's almost impossible to respond to all the requests. There is a great deal of interest in multi-culturalism. The key point is that we approach it not from a single group perspective but from a more or less holistic approach — one in which the students will be able to look at their own ethnicity, and develop a degree of self-esteem, and share their own ethnic heritage with fellow students. By doing so, both an appreciation of their own as well of other heritages can develop. This can result in a truly multi-cultural society.

Stanley Denton

Stanley Denton is Director of Multi-Racial, Multi-Ethnic, Multi-Cultural Education for the Pittsburgh Board of Education.

I am going to tell you a little bit about a bold and ambitious venture launched in Pittsburgh last year, called the Multi-racial, Multi-ethnic and Multi-cultural Education Project. Where did this come from? Let me share something with you that many of you probably don't know.

Beginning around 1986-1987, business leaders from Fortune 500 companies, such as Alcoa Industries, PPG Industries, the Dravo Corporation, and others, began a series of discussions with our Board and superintendent about the rising tide of racism and bigotry in the city and in the country. They discussed the failure of America's public school systems in educating African-American and other minority children.

They also voiced their fears that, as we look at the workforce needs of the 21st century, public education would not provide the necessary numbers and the necessary quality of highly trained people ready to enter the workforce and do a good job. So they started talking about the role public education could play in reversing this tide.

Resulting from that was the decision to enter into a comprehensive plan that would pervade every area of the school district. Also a part of this — and this was a rather radical idea — was the notion that the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers by necessity had to agree to the plan.

We took a middle school that was formerly called Prospect Middle School and closed it down. Because it no longer had a teaching staff, we posted all teaching positions the following day. This occurred over the summer so it didn't disrupt the course of instruction. People who applied to this multi-cultural, multi-racial, multi-ethnic center had to demonstrate a couple of things: one, demonstrated excellence in the classroom as a teacher; and two, commitment to the ideals of multi-cultural education. We had an interview panel that was composed of content supervisors and directors, teachers, parents and community representatives. It was a very tough process. We had approximately five applications for every teaching position. As a result, we assembled a highly trained and skilled staff and began our multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural program this school year in 1989-90. Now I won't be able to really go into all of the fine nuances of the Prospect Triple M center, though I'd really like to because it's an exciting project. If you have the opportunity, come and visit us sometime in Pittsburgh.

Our first year was really devoted to planning our own multi-cultural program. We studied various programs. We looked at *Towards a Better Balance*, the Ethnic Heritage Study Center's curriculum that Dr. Makarewicz just talked about and saw some very nice things that we are going to do there. We also looked at some things that were going on in other school districts in the nation. We asked ourselves, as educators, "What must we do in order to give children a sense of pride and knowledge of their own culture and a sense of pride and knowledge of all of the ethnic groups and cultures that compose America and that compose the world?" What we came up with was a plan that will be implemented this fall. Rather than describe the plan, let me describe what I consider to be necessary, though probably not sufficient, conditions for any one or any school or school system that is considering doing what we are doing. I would maintain that these conditions are all of equal importance and that if any one is lacking, the outcomes will be less than one ideal.

So let me just talk about these and the policy their implications. First and foremost, there needs to be a commitment to change from the leadership of the school system. Very often when people talk about wanting to have a multi-cultural school or wanting to have a multi-cultural program, or wanting to "multi-culturalize" our school district, what they are really saying is that there are political pressures on us to do something about the dismal achievement gap between African-Americans and European-Americans. They are reacting to political pressure to do something about the high dropout rate in the school district, and to political pressures to modify the Eurocentric nature of the curriculum. I maintain to you that when the reasons for embarking upon a venture such as multi-cultural education are political rather than

educational, when the leadership of the school system is reactive rather than pro-active, the results are fairly predictable. As soon as the storm dies down the emphasis will change again. "Oops! We don't have enough money to support this, let's move on to something else," or, "Let's go back to basics. We've learned our lesson here." There has to be commitment to true change from the leadership. Our superintendent of schools, Dr. Richard C. Wallace, has said not once, but on a number of occasions, that just as there is racism in the country, there is racism in the school district, and it has to end.

Secondly, there has to be a comprehensive plan for infusion. I think that multi-cultural education is done best when it not only emanates from the social studies perspective, as you see in most school districts, but when you can see it in science, in mathematics, in health and physical education; when you can see it throughout the curriculum, and when you can see it K through 12.

Third, there needs to be a longitudinal development plan. All too often the pressure is to come up with a home run at your first time at bat, to come up with something that you can develop in a couple of months and then say, "Here we go." We have felt those pressures. Sometimes we have placed those pressures upon ourselves. I believe (and this is something that we know from our painful lessons in Pittsburgh) that when you are trying to develop a curriculum and trying to change instructional strategies to accommodate the learning styles and needs of all children, you are talking about, at minimum, a five year process. If the political tides don't allow you to maintain your venture for that long, try something else.

Next, self as an agent of change. I have just a couple of minutes, so I'm going to have to rush through these, but I feel compelled to say this. Those individuals who want to embark upon a venture in multi-cultural education, but who are not willing to examine their own beliefs, stereotypes and biases in the area of multi-cultural education, are fooling themselves. Children may not always be able to read the books that we present to them, but they can sure read us. For instance, a teacher may encourage students to cooperate with one another but may not be able to get along with the principal who is of the opposite gender or with the teacher next door who is of a different race. A commitment to multi-cultural education demands self-examination, a process that can be painful.

Finally, there has to be a commitment to radical restructuring of the school, of the school system. Public education is failing today. If it continues on the course that it is on now, the public is going to shut us down within the next 10 years. I am not the only one saying that. In order to accomplish what we are talking about, there have to be radical changes made in the way that we do schooling.

Joseph O. Prewitt Diaz

Joseph Prewitt Diaz is Associate Professor of Education and Director of Bilingual Education Programs at the Pennsylvania State University. He received the first Governor's Pennsylvania Heritage Award for Multi-Cultural Education.

About three years ago a meeting was being held to plan an apple festival in a central Pennsylvania county. As we progressed throughout the evening, the community was planning what kinds of events were going to happen, and all of a sudden one committee member noticed that there was no mention of people other than the residents — the owners, the growers, and so on. The writer said, "What about the migrants?" And the gentleman that was in charge of the meeting said, "What about the migrants?" The writer replied, "Well, they just pick your fruit, prune your apples, prune the trees. They do most of the hard work. Shouldn't they be involved?" "Well, they really aren't part of us."

The writer was taken aback, frustrated, without the ability to express himself because he couldn't express my anger in English as well as in his native language, Spanish. This prompted a reaction to channel that anger by beginning to explore the factors that affect the performance of language minority in school. This paper presents the results of that study.

The sample consisted of about 598 interviews that were conducted with Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Central Americans. About 2,500 hours worth of interviews and data were collected. The methods used to collect the data were participant observation, life histories, and semi-structured interviews. Also, opportunistic interviews, formal interviews, and informal interpretation of the data were performed. To the extent possible, to confirm the collected data the same set of questions were constantly asked to determine the validity of the answers.

Four factors that affect children in the schools were found: ecological, educational, psychological, and economical. Each of these factors will be briefly discussed.

In terms of the ecological factor, the move is essential. Why do people come here? What is heard traditionally is that people come to the United States for economic reasons. In reality, there is a whole gamut of other reasons of why people migrate to the United States. People migrate because they have friends in the Mainland. People migrate fleeing from war-torn areas, such as Nicaragua and El Salvador. People migrate because "That guy used to beat me up every night and I've had it and I ran away." People migrate because they have heard that the opportunities in the United States are much better than the opportunities that they have at home.

People also migrate for better job opportunities. There are several reasons why people migrate. The decision to move stems from both social and economic reasons. How much work is there? What type of housing can be obtained? Housing, friends, schools, medical facilities, and finally what are the local contacts available to those who migrate are some of the questions that are considered before migration occurs.

The second ecological factor has to do with arriving late to the school district and leaving early. That happens with many of the children. Previous research indicates that educators are dealing with circulatory migrancy. This is particularly true in the case of the Pennsylvania Commonwealth. Pennsylvania has 300,000 inhabitants who are in a constant state of flux. There are about 240-250,000 people who are permanent residents. That is the nature of migrancy.

Migrancy raises several issues: one, the arriving late and leaving early implies an uncertainty on behalf of the child regarding when they are going to be in one particular place and when they are going to leave that place. Secondly, there is a constant process of adjustment to school and to the curriculum. Constant adjustment to school culture is very hard academically for the child. A third factor is the support factor in the school which is extremely important.

The study found consistently that schools in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania do not provide the support factor for the children. It was found that only those schools that have bilingual teachers

or paraprofessionals were offering the child some positive adjustment experiences. Adjustment refers not only to language, but adjustment to the society, the school, the church, creating new friends, the total country. Frequently, the ESL (English as a second language) teacher is the only link between the child and the external society.

The second set of circumstances deals with the educational factors. Changing schools and curricula obviously affect the children. It was found that if a child is in third grade in some districts in New Jersey and they were to cross to some district in Pennsylvania they will go up a grade. Children will be in some districts in Pennsylvania in fourth grade for about six weeks, move back to their original district in New Jersey and be placed back in third grade. And that is just crossing the river, never mind taking a plane and going back to Puerto Rico. That is a constant process.

Falling behind and the absenteeism, considered by the researcher as important factors, are prevalent among the migrant children interviewed in the study. But, more important in terms of falling behind, is how much the child's self-image is affected during the process of transition. This effect, as some respondents suggest, makes education the victim of the home environment.

The final part of the educational factors has to do with language — the pledge, "speak English here in the United States." Yes, I want to speak English. Yes, language minorities want to make a contribution. And yes, language minorities exist in the United States. But, migrants are only here from 8 weeks to 3 months. The rest of the time migrants have to speak the language other than English, and they are frequently told on that side, "Speak Spanish, you are in Puerto Rico. This is not the United States."

The third set of factors are psychological in nature: lowered self-esteem, resulting from ridicule for being culturally different, ridicule from not having the right kinds of clothes, ridicule because you are not wearing the right gold chains, ridicule because you are different. Migrant children are treated as though they were invisible.

Social isolation and constant adjustment demanded by the new environment tend to affect and deteriorate the growth of the child. Migrant children are often culturally different, and the students themselves feel that they are picked on by the locals. This is constantly seen among Puerto Rican children who live in Pennsylvania and those that came from Puerto Rico. "Those are the hicks, I am not going to hang out with them. They are not like me." The researcher was saddened, because during this study there was a little boy with something that looked like a beeper. The researcher said, "What is that?" He said, "Oh, this is an empty shell." "Why do you wear it?" He said, "Because I want to be just like my friends." To wear a beeper in a high school today means to be into a world of drugs.

The final part in terms of psychological factors is having no one to talk to. Cultural adjustment activities are not part of the school curriculum, so frequently there are misperceptions on the part of the children as to what is appropriate and what is not. There is a need to build some mechanisms that foster cultural adjustment activities. There is a lack of understanding, and some insensitive comments that come from the teachers. One specific comment is, "José, why don't you take a shower?" to a child that was wearing the only set of clothes that he had. That was the only heavy jacket that this child had. He said, "I can't leave it at home. I take a shower every night but my jacket smells." I said, "Yes, but maybe what you need to do is take it off." But that was not the comment of the teacher.

Finally, the fourth set of factors relate to the economy of migration. When we are dealing with the society of migrancy, it helps to understand the child as a contributor to the economy of the family. There is a need to address the issue of economics of migrant labor. Children are essential in the economy of the migrant family — "I cannot allow my child to go to college." To take a child out of Reading or Lancaster and put him or her on the Penn State main campus is really hard. The main reason is that often times a sixteen-year-old will go to work thirty hours and contribute monetarily to the family.

Secondly, children's decision making power is extremely important. Migrant children have been placed in the position of the bridge between the

family and the external society. For example, the researcher witnessed the following conversation between a teacher, the student, and the student's mother: "Your child is not coming to school. She cut class seventeen times during the last marking period, and I'm really concerned." Meanwhile, the daughter is translating to the mother, and she says to the mother, "Mommy, the teacher is saying that I'm doing excellent work." The mother just says, "Gracias, gracias" [Thank you, thank you]. The message never got across because the children are being placed in a position of power within the family, because they become the link between the school and the parents. Children are the babysitters. Children go out grocery shopping, and children represent the families in the welfare agencies, hospitals, and so on. Children have a vast amount of power.

Lastly, school personnel and others must consider the children's economic contribution. Teenagers can work. They can buy clothes and other things for themselves. Amongst the participants in the study, teenagers were contributing about 80% of the money they earned to the family. There was a major contribution of the children.

The final note has to do with the value of the child in the world of work versus being in school. In school, when you are eleven or twelve years old, you are told that you have to adhere to the school rules. And if you giggle or talk to a friend, you are given time off and sent to a room. Or if you misbehave, you are sent to the vice-principal who might paddle you. However, in the fields when you are twelve and bring in seventeen baskets of apples, you have the same worth as any other employee. In the fields, you are respected for that which you produce. Reality of the world of work frequently competes with the world of school.

To conclude, educators need to examine the nature of static education versus the education of children who come from a society of migrancy. We all must be reminded that if we look at the children in the United States, migrancy is a constant factor in the educational process. We all need to be aware of that.

Maurie Sacks

Maurie Sacks is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Montclair State College in New Jersey. She participated in the national study of ethnic heritage schools organized by the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress.

Over the years, many ethnic groups have supported private institutions geared to enculturating youngsters in language as well as other ethnic traditions. Such programs, here called "ethnic heritage schools" provide a venue for learning belief and symbolic systems and for socializing among members of an ethnic group. In 1980, Fishman, the only scholar who has been systematically collecting a body of data on these institutions, estimated that there were 6,000 ethnic heritage schools in the United States, serving as many as 600,000 children.

The Ethnic Heritage and Language Schools Project, a qualitative study of twenty-three programs sponsored in 1982 by the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, was an effort to examine these privately sponsored institutions in order to understand their role in the perpetuation of ethnic cultures in the United States.

The data suggested categorizing the sponsoring communities into three types: old — immigrants and their descendants who arrived in America

TABLE I

SPONSORING COMMUNITIES

	ETHNIC GROUP	LOCATION	FOUNDING DATE	SETTLEMENT PATTERN
OLD COMMUNITIES				
1.	Czech	Cedar Rapids, IA	1850s	Scattered
2.	Dutch	Pella, IA	1847	Enclave
3.	German-Russian	Strasburg, ND	1870s	Enclave
4.	Hupa Indian	Hoopa Valley, CA	1864	Enclave
5.	Chinese	San Antonio, TX	1900+	Scattered
6.	Greek	Buffalo, NY	1894	Parish*
7.	Japanese	Los Angeles, CA	1920s	Scattered
8.	Jewish	Nashville, TN	1850	Parish
9.	Ukrainian	Woonsocket, RI	1900+	Scattered
MIXED COMMUNITIES				
10.	Armenian	Watertown, MA	1970	Scattered
11.	Greek	Birmingham, AL	1902	Parish
12.	Lebanese	Birmingham, AL	1900	Parish
13.	Polish	Chicago, IL	1951	Scattered
14.	Portuguese	Taunton, MA	1980	Enclave
NEW COMMUNITIES				
15.	Ethiopian	Washington, DC	1970s	Scattered
16.	Islamic	Seattle, WA	1980	Scattered
17.	Cambodian	Houston, TX	1980	Enclave
18.	Caribbean	New York, NY	1972	Enclave
19.	Hungarian	New Brunswick, NJ	1960	Scattered
20.	Korean	Silver Spring, MD	1977	Scattered
21.	Latvian	Milwaukee, WI	1950s	Parish
22.	Lithuanian	Washington, DC	1950s	Scattered
23.	Turkish	New York, NY	1973	Scattered

* *A parish community is centralized around a church or synagogue but also has outlying members.*

before World War II; mixed — communities that include recent immigrants as well as descendants of those who arrived between 1850 and World War II; and new — whose original members arrived after World War II.

Of the nine *old* communities in our sample, five were established between 1850 and 1900, three between 1900 and 1930, and one is a native American community occupying some of the territory it originally inhabited. Five arrived in this country seeking economic opportunity, and started out as small entrepreneurs. Three were ethnic-religious minorities, seeking freedom to practice their own cultures, while one, the Hupa Indians, became a minority in its own homeland. Three of these groups established concentrated communities that have endured for over a hundred years, while other *old* communities are now scattered about urban and suburban areas.

Pre-World War II communities that continue to receive new immigrants are called *mixed* because they include fourth or even fifth generations as well as recently arrived first and second generation members. These communities, whose founders arrived by 1900, face problems not encountered in more homogenous groups. Fieldworkers reported differences between language and culture of the mother country as carried by new immigrants from the motherland, and those of the ethnic-American descendants of earlier immigrants.

The *new* communities arrived here as persons displaced by World War II and the more recent southeast Asian wars, and as refugees from political and economic upheavals. Some members of these groups see their time in America as limited and expect to "go home" when they have enough money, when things settle down, or to retire. With the birth of second and third generation American-born members, however, many have relinquished their expectations of returning to the motherland. All of the new groups are settled in metropolitan areas, mostly in widely scattered urban and suburban neighborhoods, although two have established tightly knit ethnic enclaves. The Muslim community is the one ethnically heterogeneous religious community sampled — it includes Middle Eastern, Asian and black American Muslims, brought together by their religion and their desire to have their children learn the Arabic language.

The sample includes four types of ethnic heritage programs: day schools, part-time schools (held after regular school and on weekends), enrichment programs in public and private day schools, and one summer program.

TABLE II

ETHNIC HERITAGE PROGRAMS

Program Type—	DAY	SUMMER	SUPPLE-MENTARY	PART-TIME	TOTAL
OLD		1	3	5	9
MIXED	1			4	5
NEW	1			8	9
TOTAL	2	1	3	17	23

Other than the Hupa day-care center and the Caribbean music school, no publicly-supported bilingual programs were studied; all of the remaining programs are community- supported. Parents are usually the moving force in establishing the schools, donating time as well as dollars for the ethnic heritage education of their youngsters. In no program studied does tuition cover the entire expenses of the school. Some programs receive support from churches or other institutions which provide space free of charge. Most communities have associations that run raffles, socials, balls, teas, and other events to raise sufficient funds to keep the schools running. Budgets vary depending on whether rent is paid, a building has to be supported, or textbooks and other supplies are provided free, or charged to the students. Most of the schools have qualified or over-qualified teachers. Administrators, unless they are principals of day schools or clergypersons, are most often qualified parents who donate their services. There is little or no material reward for those involved; informants claim the work is done out of devotion to the cause.

The two day schools in our sample both serve urban areas and though both are secularly run, they stress language learning and religion. Arabic, in the Arabic school, and Armenian, in the Armenian school both teach the ethnic language as a

second language, although the Armenian school has a large proportion of students from first generation immigrant families.

All three enrichment programs in our sample appear in *old* communities where language has been lost in the homes, but where a sense of ethnic identity has been maintained through stable settlement patterns.

After school or weekend programs comprise the largest category in the study: seventeen schools. They are supported by *old*, *new* and *mixed* communities. Most *old* community programs are supported by religious organizations, while the *new* community programs are more often secular. Enrollments vary in the part-time programs from an estimated seventeen to 150. Some families chauffeur their children from the suburbs to the inner-city enclaves while others patronize programs run by the same ethnic groups in the suburbs. The main factor differentiating weekend from after-school or evening programs appears to be the community's housing pattern. (See Table I). Groups with scattered settlement patterns tend to have Saturday schools, since this makes possible several hours of schooling in only one trip. The parents' commitment to conveying their youngsters to ethnic heritage classes regularly is important to the success of the programs.

Four fieldworkers mentioned that the ethnic groups they studied have summer camps or schools, but the only summer program studied was the Czech school in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The descendent of a series of Czech schools that have been operated in Cedar Rapids since 1870, this program reached a nadir in the late sixties and early seventies, but the school experienced increased enrollments recently, in spite of continued inter-marriage by members of the Czech community.

The major difference between the *old* and *new* communities appears to be the place of language in the curriculum. There are three approaches to language learning in ethnic heritage school curricula: language learning for fluency, language learning for "familiarity," and no language learning at all. The approach to language in the curricula of the ethnic heritage programs studied appears to be correlated with language in the home; those communities in which language is still spoken at home make the most intense efforts to teach it in the programs.

TABLE III

ETHNIC HERITAGE CURRICULA

Language Goal

	FLUENCY	FAMILIARITY	NONE	TOTAL
OLD	1	5	3	9
MIXED	3	2	-	5
NEW	8	1	-	9
TOTAL	12	8	3	23

Prepared By

	ETHNIC ORGAN-IZATION	LOCAL	RELIGIOUS	MOTHER COUNTRY	TOTAL
OLD	5	3	1	-	9
MIXED	2	1	1	1	5
NEW	2	3	-	4	9
TOTAL	9	7	2	5	23

Old communities in which English is the home language may abandon language learning altogether in favor of teaching ethno-history, familiarity with ethnic symbols, and folklore, including song and dance. Eleven of the twelve cases with the strongest language programs belong to *new* communities, or recent immigrants in *mixed* communities. Parents organizing these programs stress the importance of maintaining inter-generational communication. Sometimes a community creates a strong language program for students who do not speak the language at home. These have less success in producing fluent speakers, although the children may have grandparents with whom to practice. Both day schools in our sample include children who are native speakers, and have some success with language fluency since they are full-day schools and devote many hours per week to language learning. Only one case, the Caribbean music school, which serves mostly Spanish speakers, frequently conducts lessons in Spanish, but does not emphasize language learning. Some communities

have "language familiarity" programs which stress an exposure to language, including recognition of non-Latin scripts where necessary, but without any expectation of the acquisition of fluency.

Curricula for ethnic heritage schools are created locally, prepared by ethnic-American organizations, or developed in the mother country. Predictably, curricula prepared in the mother country for its own schools are used exclusively by recent immigrants. Nine programs use curricula prepared by national ethnic-American organizations specifically for use in ethnic heritage programs. These include five *old*, two *mixed*, and two *new* communities of the immediate post World War II era, but not the most recently arrived immigrants.

The curricula, regardless of whether they stress language, religion, or secular culture, contain the shared symbols and in-group knowledge that composes the cognitive dimension of identity. History of the local ethnic community is important in the old communities; history and geography of the homeland is stressed in newer communities. All of the programs include a selection of oral tradition, songs, dance instruction, holiday celebrations or ethnic cuisine in the curriculum. Certain important aspects of ethno-American culture are not formally included in the curricula, but are learned by children participating in the programs. These include the local dialects spoken in the community members such as Dutch English, Chicago Polish, and "Spanglish," body language, certain kinds of etiquette such as bowing and hand-kissing, and naming practices. These learned behaviors later serve as symbols of group membership that are recognized both by co-ethnics and outsiders as markers of identity.

The function of ethnic heritage programs most frequently stated as a goal or purpose by parents and administrators is to teach children "who they are," to establish an ethnic identity. A Greek-American father in Birmingham, Alabama states, "...I hope I can instill this to my children. Without traditions we are nothing. You are blank." The extent to which ethnic heritage schools succeed in conveying the essence of ethnic identity from one generation to the next has not been well studied. The American Jewish Committee has found that part-time ethnic heritage programs produce no noticeable effect on adult behavior unless the course of study surpasses two thousand contact hours — the equivalent of ten years of study at five hour per week, ten months per year. This is considerably more than most part-time ethnic heritage school students ever have. Day schooling, in contrast, correlates with higher levels of observance and group affiliation among adult Jews. Little else is known about the effects of ethnic heritage education on overt behavior in other communities, aside from its significance for language maintenance.

Local and national networking is an important function of ethnic heritage schools. Where ethnic groups have a scattered settlement pattern, as they do in seventeen of twenty-three cases studied, the ethnic heritage programs are crucial for nurturing co-ethnic friendships among children who would never meet each other in the separately zoned public schools they attend. Such friendships are important in establishing patterns of sharing ethnic experiences that may later contribute to ethnic group maintenance.

Ethnic heritage schools give parents an opportunity to increase self-esteem by validating their role as parents. Parents had at least some part in establishing seventeen of the twenty-three programs studied, and were the sole organizers in thirteen of these cases, with professional educators or clergy participating in the organization of the remaining four. Many parents feel that the time and money they invest in ethnic heritage education makes them responsible parents. Some are motivated to make this investment even if they do not practice ethnic behavior at home, because of the weight of social approval it brings both within and outside the ethnic community. Ethnic heritage programs create a milieu in which the parent's culture is legitimized by an institution outside the home. The school brings together enough people to model what the adults consider desirable behavior and to provide a supportive peer group for the parents.

Some parents are attracted to ethnic heritage and language schools for their offspring because their parents had not provided an adequate ethnic

connection for them as children; educating their children compensates for the perceived loss of language and tradition, and the accompanying feelings of anomie in their own lives.

The Ethnic Heritage and Language Schools Project demonstrates that ethnic education programs are long-lived, dynamic organizations that embody the dialectic between assimilation and cultural pluralism in America. Some groups such as Chicanos, Latin Americans, Italians, Irish, and blacks do not appear in our sample because appropriate programs could not be located in spite of our efforts to do so. Some of these are the very groups who support Title VII out of concern for language and culture maintenance. It is not clear why different groups have chosen publicly or privately supported routes to what they hope will be perpetuation of ethnic identity. Data generated by the Ethnic Heritage and Language Schools Project support Fishman's concern that widespread bilingual education in public schools might retard the development of community based organization for ethnic culture maintenance.

The groups in our sample have formed vital organizations focusing on the issues of language and culture but they do not achieve language fluency beyond the second generation. The issue addressed by ethnic heritage education thus appears to be ethnic enculturation and not language fluency. Ethnic enculturation may not be readily achievable in publicly administered bilingual schools.

Although ethnicity is big business and big politics in America today, social science has hardly begun to get beyond descriptive profiles of ethnic groups to the micro-sociological transactions that constitute ethnic behaviors, and that are partly shaped, for some, in ethnic heritage school experiences.

[Editor's note: This presentation was based on Dr. Sacks' published work, which appeared as "'Without tradition you are blank': Ethnic Heritage Education in America Today." Ethnic Groups *(1985) 6:249-73.]*

Questions and Discussion

Question: Hyung Pak from Jaisohn Memorial Center in Philadelphia. I was most gratified to hear about the experiment and projects you are doing in the Pittsburgh public schools. I'm very happy and I hope you succeed, and I would like to come visit some day. I would like to address my main comment and question, however, to Dr. Diaz. I feel that education of migrant farm workers' children is a major problem in the United States today. Contrary to what Americans think, the United States is the net exporter of agricultural products, outside of airplanes that we sell (which Boeing is so anxious to produce in Japan). I feel that migrant workers do not have advocates in the United States. I was involved with the education of migrant workers' children through the University of Pittsburgh's mathematics program they developed at ARBC that was individually prescribed instructions. I feel that all the migrant children should have military 201 files which show the basic skills they have mastered so far. American educators, with the able people like Susan Donley you mentioned, will then be able to identify basic skills in math, English language, perhaps science and social studies, so that whether the migrant workers go to Wisconsin, Texas, California or New Jersey, all the children will have some kind of educational mastery records, rather than whether someone got an A or B or C in some particular course. You would have the skill-pack record keeping with them. Perhaps these children will be plugged into more of what I call a modular instructional material set up, which I think many educational departments were working on or could develop further, so that students can master certain fundamentals. I feel that there should be a national policy. These migrant workers' children go from one state to the other, and they don't spend a long enough time to master anything in terms of long range. So I hope Dr. Diaz and his colleagues can be more involved in advocating their educational needs and help other people develop educational materials so that they can be helped.

Diaz: Thank you for bringing out several points. Let me clarify that we just published a parallel series to this report that I reported on today. It was the effects of migration on children, an ethnography of thirteen ethnic groups in the United States, which we worked on for three years. The reports are now available.

There are about 2.2 million children of migrant workers in the United States. There are about 800,000 that are picked up through a computer system which is located in Arkansas which reports the movements and the math skills, English language skills and whether the children are in Special Ed or not. There is also a National Migrant Education Commission, which was created last year, and they are looking at the specific problems of migrant children. The National Migrant Education program has a package deal, that in the case of children who are traveling during the school year, the funds go directly to state, and the state disseminates the funds through the schools or through private agencies on an FTE basis. So the school gets so much money a day. We in the schools have not been able to develop strategies other than either tutoring or offering a resource room for migrant children. That is not sufficient education for children, as you indicated, who are in a constant process of flux. So the next step I believe we need is to advocate that the education of migrant children has to use available technology. For example, have a vehicle with an uplink, three computers, an interactive video and go directly to the camp. The parents get there from the field at 4:00 p.m., they sit down, they watch a television series on pesticides, first aid, health care, and so on. Once the workers are back in the camps in the evening we have a captive audience. What better way to teach children their skills than to teach the whole family and upgrade the educational process of the family. I think we need to begin to use technology to do that.

Question: My name is Phuong; I work with the International Service Center in Harrisburg. I have a question for all the distinguished members of the panel. As educators, do you see a role for the fami-

ly in multi-cultural education, and if yes, what is that role?

Sacks: One of the issues that came up in our study was how the family behaves in its concern for its children's ethnic education or identity education. In some of the communities, as Dr. Chen mentioned and it certainly was my experience, parents who are completely assimilated — they may be second or third or fourth generation — find some need which may arise from themselves, their own sense of disconnection or maybe pressure from other people, from their neighbors, from their relatives, from their in-laws, or others. There is some sense that they ought to be doing something about their children's identity. So they pick them up, deliver them to the school for three hours a week and they say, "Make them Chinese" or "Make them Jewish" or "Make them Polish for us." Then they stop off at McDonald's on the way home and forget about it until the following week. So yes, certainly, if the family doesn't show any particular interest or value in ethnic identity, if the family doesn't belong to ethnic associations, if it doesn't celebrate holidays in ways that identify it with an ethnic group, if it doesn't talk at the table and teach the children as they eat dinner together, if the family doesn't have ethnic artifacts around the house, if it doesn't provide an environment that reinforces what the children learn in ethnic school, the children are not going to get that message really. I haven't seen any real studies other than the study of the American Jewish Committee that actually measured our input and output fifteen or twenty-five years later. We really don't know what impact the ethnic school has. The American Jewish Community says there was none, that there was no discernable difference between Jewish children who went to supplementary schools. When they became adults, they weren't any more or less Jewish than Jewish children who simply had a kind of acculturation in the home but were not sent to any formal schooling. I think a lot more research has to be done on that before we make policy decisions concerning whether or not such ethnic supplementary schooling should be supported with public funding, or how ethnic learning or multi-cultural learning is going to be injected into the schools. It's one thing to learn in the public school, and it's another thing to live it every day in your home, to eat the foods, for example. They say you are what you eat. If you eat McDonald's or if you eat your ethnic foods, you really become a different person, because they are imbedded in a cultural matrix, those intangibles we were talking about yesterday.

Question: My name is Cynthia Primas. I live in a very depressed community in Camden, New Jersey. Three years ago I moved there, and I started doing some substituting in the school system. I initiated a project to start a high school for performing arts, myself and another person. We were given a sanction by the school board to develop a task force to begin this project for a school for the performing arts, but we felt that we needed to do a multi-cultural curriculum. We were fortunately able to become a part of Rutgers, which is working with us to develop the curriculum. Right now, we have the opportunity to do anything we want in terms of making a presentation in front of the school board to do a strictly multi-cultural art school. My question is, how should I present the idea of a multi-cultural curriculum? What should my approach be when I write my proposal to go in front of the school board? They're open, and I'm ready. We feel that the community is need of this kind of school and we are ready for it.

[Editor's note: Due to the time constraints, the session chairperson asked Ms. Primas to defer her question to the discussion session.]

Questions: Hasan Risilia. I talked yesterday, too, but it seems like I'm going nowhere. Last night I went to my room and I was thinking and I said, "Hasan, what you are doing here? Here is the place to help your community, to get something for the community of Albanians. Being that they cannot match the funds fifty-fifty, I thought that I don't have to be here and not waste the state's money.

Staub: Excuse me, Hasan, please do not leave. There is much work to be done, and much needs to be discussed. Matters of fifty-fifty match are actually the least of the issues and problems. I think the issues and problems go far deeper to the struc-

tures, to the policies and to the purpose of this conference.

At this point you have all heard from four plenary panels, each assembled to provide perspectives on issues in these four broad themes — in some cases provocative, in some cases calling for radical restructuring of the educational system, the health care system, land use and decision making about zoning. We have been talking about major issues that go well beyond the participants of this conference in this room addressing state and national policies. We are dealing with critical issues that face all of our communities.

You have heard from the panelists over the last day and a quarter, and now it's your turn as you go into these next set of discussion sessions. The moderators have been asked to facilitate your discussion, your questions, and your issues. We hope to identify what are the issues that we need to continue pressing and pushing for as the Commission works with all agencies of state government to effect a more culturally sensitive set of policies and programs throughout our Commonwealth.

[Editor's note: The substantive comments from the discussion sessions have been incorporated into the policy report at the conclusion of these proceedings.]

Keynote Address II

The Ascendancy of Ethnicity, But the Persistence of Race

Niara Sudarkasa

Niara Sudarkasa is President of Lincoln University. She serves as African American Commissioner on the Heritage Affairs Commission.

Let me set the parameters for the presentation I am about to make to you this afternoon, which I call "The Ascendancy of Ethnicity, But the Persistence of Race." In the area of group identity and intergroup relations, there are two different social dynamics afoot in America today. One is the persistence of race — that polarity which has characterized black-white relations in America since Africans were brought here in chains in the 17th century. The other, as I said before, is the ascendancy of the concept of ethnicity, which also has much to do with changes that have taken place on the continent of Africa and in other parts of what we call the Third World.

First, with respect to the *persistence of race*: several recent publications, including the long awaited and highly acclaimed study, *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society*, written by a group of distinguished Americans led by Yale University economist Gerald D. Jaynes, document the persistence of race as a factor in America today. The income gap between blacks and whites is wider than it has been in decades, despite the fact that there are more African Americans steadily moving into the middle-class. Why has this income gap been sustained? First of all, the income gap between socioeconomic classes, especially within the African American population, is growing. There are more blacks at the bottom of the income scale, hence, the African American group as a whole is not making economic progress we might expect. The group that William Julius Wilson calls "the truly disadvantaged," the group that some people call the underclass, is growing at a rate that should alarm each and every citizen in this country. Thus, while some blacks are better off, an even greater number are worse off than at any time since the Great Depression. We see in turn, that income is a key factor in sustaining the socio-political dichotomy between black and white. Overall, therefore, race remains an indicator of, and racial discrimination a basis for, differential and unequal access to opportunities and resources, both economic and political.

But at the same time that we see the persistence of the dichotomy between whites with power and privilege on the one hand, and blacks living with poverty and unfulfilled promises on the other, there are other factors that have converged to heighten the emphasis on *ethnicity* and pluralism in America—an emphasis that defies the notion of a dichotomy. After all, when one talks about ethnicity and pluralism, one is talking about a country that is divided not into two groups but into many. And there are signs that the ascendance of ethnicity could ultimately mean the decline in the potency of the concept of race, even though we acknowledge the persistence and importance of race in America today.

Ethnicity on the Ascendant

The face of America is changing. The most recent wave of immigration that started in the 1960s has brought to this country millions of new settlers, new frontiersmen and new frontierswomen, who have dramatically changed the face of these United States. People from Asia, Africa, the USSR and Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean have been migrating to America in numbers that are unmatched since the great waves of migration into this country in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The demographic result is one with which we are all familiar. We are told in another famous study, *One-Third of a Nation*, published by the American Council on Education and the Education Commission of the States, that by the turn of the century, or shortly thereafter, roughly one-third of this country will be constituted by "minorities." That actually means identifiable people of color in the American population. These include blacks, of course, whose numbers are being swollen by new migration from Africa, the Caribbean and South America.

The first major point I want to make with respect to this new wave of immigration, which is heightening the diversity of the country, is that we now re-examine the concepts of "majority" and "minority" in America. Who are the majority? Is America not becoming a country of pluralities rather than one that can be divided into a majority and a minority population? Are the concepts of minority and majority still applicable in America today in the same way that they were when they gained sociological currency early in the 20th century? Think about it. When we emphasize ethnicity rather than race there is no majority population in America because we are all different ethnic groups. This is a country of pluralities.

There are several large ethnic groups, including the group made of people of African descent, and there are many smaller ones. Since ethnicity is a fluid concept that involves overlapping identities and group that subdivide into smaller and smaller units, we cannot even say there is one African American ethnic group. There are many groups who trace their ancestry to Africa but who see themselves as distinct ethnic groups, in the same way as European-derived populations in America see themselves as belonging to different ethnic groups. Ultimately we may use broad regional categories such as Asian, Latin American, African, and European to indicate the origins of different populations in America, but these are broken down into categories by nationality and ethnicity, and even those categories, in turn, break down into smaller ones, depending on the context of the discussion taking place.

When we use the terms majority and minority in their quantitative senses, we find that the so-called "minorities," i.e., people of color, are actually the majority population in many areas in this country. We find ourselves using contradictory terms such as a "majority of minorities." I would think that our linguistic habits will have to catch up with demographic realities, and we will have to speak of majority populations as majority populations whether they are people of color or not. We have to think of majority populations as the populations that are numerically the largest in any particular area. Thus, the majority population in some parts of the United States is the population of African descent. In other parts of the country it is the population of Asian descent. These are valid observations despite the fact that in most parts of the country, the majority is still the population of European descent.

The way we continue to use "majority" and "minority" shows that everyone wants to focus on multi-ethnicity and pluralism until we come to the question of power and privilege, and then the older concept of race rear its head. Not only is there a tendency to coalesce ethnic groups into broad categories based on "race" or color, but there is also the notion that whites must accorded majority status everywhere even when they are de facto minorities in particular localities. I maintain that this is un-American. When we have a situation where there are peoples of color in the majority in various areas, the democratic ethic in this country should require that they be given at least equal access to the resources in the areas where they find themselves.

Of course, everyone ought to be treated equitably everywhere, but most certainly when "minorities" constitute a majority, they should not be kept in the status of a minority, as Hispanics are in parts of the southwest, Asians in parts of the far west, and African Americans in parts of the south. The relative under-representation of these populations in seats of power indicate that even though we talk about "majority" and "minority" as if these terms have mainly quantitative referents, in fact, numbers alone are insufficient criteria for defining them.

Control of political power and economic resources is the key factor in determining whom we consider to be majority and minority in the United States. Ethnicity, I maintain, may be on the ascen-

dant in America in the cultural sphere, but race (as commonly conceived), is still paramount in the sphere of power and privilege. For that reason, ethnic pluralism cannot change notions about majority and minority status until there is genuinely equal access to opportunities—in schools, in employment, to ownership of property, and to all other "strategic" resources.

The second major point that I want to make with respect to the ascendance of ethnicity in America is that it cannot be separated from the political changes that have taken place in the Third World since the 1950s. (And I apologize to those here who do not appreciate the concept of "Third World." I myself understand that philosophically it has built into it a notion that some people associate with racism or at least with European hegemony. But I use it as a convenient way of referring to those parts of the world where peoples of color are primarily in control of the new nation states.)

A funny thing happened on the way to the 21st century: the people of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America who were under European colonial rule demanded and won, fought for and won, their political independence beginning with India shortly after World War II and culminating with the great wave of independent states that came into being on the continent of Africa in the 1960s. With political independence has come a demand on the part of these peoples of color to have a say about who they are, what their history has been, and how they wish to be viewed in the world.

There is no question but that the independence of what we in the West call the Third World has had profound effects on the way we think about and classify peoples of the globe, and the way we relate to people both nationally and internationally. The independence of the Third World has meant that national origin, linguistic affiliation, and cultural and national background or cultural and historical background have become more important in many places than the older concept of race in identifying people both at home and abroad. So the characteristics that we commonly identify with ethnicity, i.e., culture, history, nationality, and so on, are more significant than ever for us in America in identifying, understanding and relating to peoples from other parts of the world.

This becomes even more important when members of those populations migrate to this country in great numbers, as they have in recent years, because we have to come to grips not only with their presence in America, but their link to independent Third World countries. As we have come into contact with populations from these new nations, we have been forced to rethink the way we previously categorized their descendants in our own country.

The broad ethnic and regional categories we now use in everyday life (Asian, African American, Hispanic, Euro-American) do not correspond precisely to our older racial designations. For example, the people we class as Hispanics or Latinos cut across all of America's old racial categories. There are Hispanics or Latinos of African, Asian and European descent, but the identity *they choose* to emphasize in the context of America today is their common linguistic and cultural heritage. They choose to see themselves as a single ethnic unit, and we have come to accept the ethnic designation rather than categorize them according to their different "races." With respect to Asians, we are being forced to see and understand the different nationalities and ethnic distinctions, instead of clinging to old stereotypic assumptions such as "all 'Orientals' are the same."

Generally, the heightened diversity of this country means that we can no longer see our old "racial" categories as monolithic. We are beginning to see that ethnic diversity, particularly as related to national origin, is very important among the populations from the Third World just as it is among the populations of European descent. In fact, the realities of population intermixtures are forcing us to realize that the older categories that we thought of as distinct "races" (i.e., "Negroes," "Orientals" and "Caucasians") are not biologically homogeneous and distinct, but rather are biologically *and* ethnically heterogeneous and overlapping.

With respect to people of African descent, for example, we also can no longer maintain stereotypic notions such as "all blacks are the

same" or that "all blacks look alike." We have seen that people of African descent belong to different nations, speak different languages, and cannot be considered a monolithic group. For example, people of African descent in the Caribbean not only identify with that region but they are also differentiated into the English-speaking group (e.g., the Trinidadians, Jamaicans, Barbadians), the French-speaking Haitians and Martiniquans, and the Spanish-speaking Cubans, Dominican Republicans and Panamanians.

We also recognize that African descendants are very prevalent in Latin America, particularly in countries such as Brazil and Guyana. As a matter of fact, if we classified people in Brazil the way we classify people in America, that is by saying that everybody who has "one drop of African blood" is black, Brazil would be a predominantly black country because, as they themselves admit, most people in Brazil have demonstrable African ancestry.

We see blacks in France, Britain and Germany, taking on the national identities of these countries. And, of course, we see, even if we do not understand, the complexities of the nationalities and the ethnic divisions in the African continent itself. When we see recent African immigrants here in America and hear them speak their different languages or see glimpse of their different cultural backgrounds, we begin to appreciate the ethnic distinctions that they bring to this country from their countries of origin.

It is interesting to note that population of African descendants who were brought to America as slaves, have begun to redefine *themselves* in terms of ethnicity rather than race. The concept of African American, popularized by Jesse Jackson, though not originated with him, is replacing Black American, and has already replaced Afro-American in much of the parlance in this country. We must realize that "African American" is an ethnic category. "Black American" emphasizes race; "African American" emphasizes the cultural, historical and geographical origin of the peoples concerned. The use of the concept of "African American" is really part of what Ramona Edelin, head of the National Urban Coalition of Washington, D.C., describes as "a cultural offensive" designed to provide the sense of history and self-worth that can help the black population in its fight for equality and dignity in America.

It is important to note, however, that the concept of African American may have drawbacks in the fight to change the balance of power between "whites" and "blacks," which I talked about earlier. Ironically, from my point of view, it seems that the concept of "African American" can detract attention from the persistent inequalities based on race rather than ethnicity. In other words, the concept masks the inequality that is based on *race* in this country, because it makes it easy for people to assume when they list "African Americans" along with all other ethnic groups from A to Z, that African Americans are the same as all other ethnic groups in terms of opportunities, experiences, expectations, and so on. And of course, they are not. We may identify ourselves ethnically and culturally as African Americans, but race, rather than ethnicity, is the most salient concept for understanding our condition and position in America. There is still the need to understand and talk about what it means to be black and white in America.

This is precisely the point I made at the outset. The statistics show that the economic gap between black and white is widening, that the situation of the underclass or the truly disadvantaged is one that affects African Americans in a proportion that is far greater than that for any other ethnic group in this country. In fact, to many people, the concept of the underclass is virtually synonymous with the concept of the black poor. To understand the position of African Americans, we must juxtapose them to all Euro-Americans, not to any single ethnic group of European background, and as soon as we acknowledge this contrast between African Americans and Euro-Americans, we are back to the realities of black and white in America.

Conclusion

Any discussion of ethnicity in America must include a discussion of race and class because unless we do so, we can only talk about celebrating cultural diversity, about different lifestyles, different food preferences, artistic and musical traditions, and so on. Focusing on these facets of life,

important as they are, cannot be the catalyst for achieving the genuine equality of opportunity that American promises to all of its citizens. To be American, the notion of diversity and pluralism must embrace the notion of equality.

W.E.B DuBois, one of the greatest intellects of modern times, said at the turn of the century that the problem of the 20th century would be the problem of the color line, the relationship between "the lighter and darker races of the world," as he put it. The notion of the color line has in fact dominated relations of the 20th century. It is as if the hemispheres of this globe were not divided into north and south or east and west, but white and black, or certainly white and non-white. Although many people pointed out the overlapping nature of these broad categories into which we divided people, nonetheless, in as much as the European north had most of the power throughout this century, people acted as if everybody could be classified into one or the other "racial" camp. What is hopeful about the notion of ethnicity is that *if* it could ultimately replace race as the primary vehicle for self-identification and for the identification of others, then we would witness a quiet revolution that would make the 21st century a very different place from the 20th. Peoples of the world would be viewed as ever-changing populations rather than static polarities. If populations come to be conceived as mosaics rather than moieties, it would be easier to eliminate the 20th century patter of discrimination based on color. In the new world of the 21st century, the promise of equal opportunity for all would at last have a chance to be realized.

Questions and Discussion

Question: I truly enjoyed your speech. My question is, are there any publications or any work being done on the class diversity in the African-American community?

Sudarkasa: Certainly. In fact, I would say that the study of class among African-Americans and of the class divide between African-American and other groups is probably that which dominates most of sociological writing on blacks in America today. The pioneer, of course, is Julius Wilson of the University of Chicago who published the book, *The Declining Significance of Race*. I believe it came out in the early 70s. It caused such a stir, and it has been misunderstood by a lot of people. The title, in fact, is a little misleading as to what is actually in the book. But I think the main contribution that he has made is to point up the fact that the economic plight of those at the lowest end of the income spectrum among African-Americans should really be the starting point for most of the analysis done on our group. I would say if you go to his work and that of many, many others, including people who are writing on the black family, you'll find that the class dimension is always prominent in their work.

Question: Would economic parity across the spectrum of cultures increase or decrease cultural ethnocentrism or ethnicity?

Sudarkasa: I think that ethnocentrism is more likely to increase in a situation where there is great inequality than in a situation where there is equality, because it is very easy for people to begin to associate the privileges which they have somehow with their special ethnic character rather than understanding that those privileges result from a historical dynamic in the particular situation where they find themselves. For example, in America it really disturbs me that so much of the discussion around access to economic power is not discussed in those terms but rather in terms of ethnic characteristics. So and so has a lot because they are from this nationality. Or so and so does not have because they are black, when in fact the differences have to do with choices and decisions that are made at political and economic levels in this country. If we, in fact, open up opportunity to all then I think that ethnocentrism would diminish because people would know that getting or not getting something would not be because of race or ethnicity.

[Editor's note: The Open Policy Forum took place at this point in the conference. Chaired by Lieutenant Governor Mark Singel, the session included summary reports by moderators of the four discussion groups devoted to "Ethnicity and Public Policy." A more comprehensive treatment of policy issues and recommendations which emerged in the discussion sessions and forum can be found in Section X of these proceedings.]

Closing Session

Ethnicity in Pennsylvania: Looking Ahead

Shalom Staub: This conference has provided us an opportunity to do some soul searching and some questioning of our assumptions and attitudes with an eye towards what can be done. I would like to ask the participants on this panel to take a few moments to look ahead. We have heard a summary of the discussion groups, and I will ask them not to repeat those particular recommendations but rather to reflect on what is the next step. We will start with David Hufford, to address issues related to health care and human services.

David Hufford: I am going to talk about three crucial underlying issues for these policies. These are matters that must be kept in mind as we move forward.

First (and there are actually three parts to this), human services are expensive. Ethnicity and culture cannot be thought of as independent of financial issues. This is especially true given that for many segments of the population, ethnicity is a powerful predictor of financial inequity. We've got to keep financial issues linked to our discussion of services and culture. Human services are also generally provided by, or regulated by government. So their nature, accessibility and cultural appropriateness cannot be thought of separately from political issues. This is especially true given that ethnicity and cultural distinctiveness have often acted as barriers to services and to political empowerment. As Moses Williams pointed out, the data on the scandalously poor health and life expectancy of African-Americans is an excellent case in point for this. Linked to those two points there is a serious danger that vested interests can co-opt the concept of cultural appropriateness. I think this is very important for future developments—co-opt the concept of cultural appropriateness to justify claims of respectful treatment, while continuing to prevent access to necessary services and to the levers of power. A freedom from inappropriate services must not become freedom from all services, which is, I think, a real risk. The only real protection from that risk is the integral involvement of community representatives in the determination of policy and the evaluation of the adequacy of services. That's the first point.

The second one: the professionals who are crucial in providing service also have interests and values and culture that influence the services greatly and cannot be assumed always to be either similar to or even in harmony with the interests, values and culture of those who need services. Consequently, while the issues of cultural competence and cultural diversity of providers of services are two different issues, they are inseparably linked. It is impossible to have a good program on improving cultural competence of any provider group without, at the same time, having a program of increasing the cultural diversity of the providers.

And then finally, on the persistence of ethnicity, going back a little bit to the presentation by Professor Steinberg on the first day. If ethnicity is not going to persist then we don't need a long term

plan, but I think it is going to. As many speakers have indicated, ethnic influences are often invisible. They show dynamic movement back and forth across group boundaries, and a narrow view of ethnicity is based in stereotypes. The perception of a fading ethnicity is really just an awakening to the inaccuracy of the stereotypes, whereas the acceptance of the stereotypes always implies racism by suggesting that cultural difference stems from biological difference. Cultural variation within ethnic groups and links between groups and among groups through marriage, friendship and workplace relationships are facts of dynamic cultural processes in a pluralistic cultural setting, not a slide into homogeneity. So I think we do need a long term plan.

Frank Liu: First, I would like to address the future role of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission. Unless we have a stabilized Heritage Affairs Commission and unless this Commission will continue to grow, whatever we have done in the past two days will be for nought. So my recommendation is that we must formalize the role of Commission into a legislatively sanctioned agency of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Along with that, the state must provide sufficient funding for the Commission. I think the ethnic communities must rally around these two specific issues so that whenever what we have tried to do today will be implemented, will be followed up by our able and even expanding staff into the future.

In terms of inter-ethnic relations, I think fundamentally it must begin in education. This education begins from the family, and then of course, through formal educational programs. Somehow we must make the importance of maintaining ethnic harmony a required subject for all our formal educational programs. The other area of education where the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission can play a role is to develop training programs for cultural awareness, ethnic awareness, conflict resolutions, mediation, and leadership development. The Commission could be an impetus for developing programs within the state government agencies. It is being done increasingly by corporations, and it's not too soon to have it done within the state government. It is quite different for a state official to sit here to listen to what we say than be a participant in a sharing group. It is easy to pay lip service, but it is quite different if you are a part of a discussion group, sharing and understanding the suffering and the agonies of discrimination.

In terms of the future programs of the Heritage Affairs Commission with respect to inter-ethnic relations, I think there obviously are three areas. One is a program of prevention. For instance, Mr. Levine suggestion about having a month devoted to ethnic relations. I think it was a good suggestion. And also, making available the directory of our ethnic leadership. Programs of fact finding. We should develop what Mr. Levine has suggested, the community assessment guide, which would assess the ethnic temperature of a community, and see if there are reasons for concern. Develop a directory of conflict resolvers, so that whenever there is a conflict we know whom to call, who is skillful in resolving the problems. There has been the request for holding hearings in various areas of the state. Fact finding. Finding out whether there are racial tensions in any segments of the state.

There will be programs of intervention. It has been suggested that the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission increasingly play a role as a mediator of actual conflicts. This is an area that we certainly should pursue.

Finally, I think we have done a poor job in impressing the media. We had Mr. Dubin here yesterday who took the attitude that the role of a reporter is reporting. I know other journalists or scholars have taken the view that the press really is an educational media, that the media can help our society to set agendas. That is an area that our Commission perhaps can develop some sort of understanding or cooperation.

Andrew Chen: There are basically six points I want to identify based on the assumptions which we discussed over the last two days. First of all, the basic assumption is that the so-called "ethnic landscape" is changing, the demographic composition is changing—the change of ethos, of values, of culture or education. I think that is the key to our

problem relating to heritage and ethnicity. As I mentioned this morning, after Martin Luther King, Jr., we made some gains politically, but educators and human service provider have failed to follow up, to implement that ideology—the dream of civil rights. I think that is why we are still struggling. Now that's an assumption. I think what we need to do, number one, is to do needs assessment, an evaluation of multi-cultural education every 5 years. We must know what we are talking about. That is one of my recommendations and the impression of the speakers today. The Heritage Affairs Commission with the cooperation of other agencies should undertake a state-wide assessment of how we are doing in the area of multi-cultural education.

One of the issues is the change in population. At this point no one knows how many Asians are in the state of Pennsylvania. Guesses range from 70,000 to half a million. We need to do more about this kind of information assessment. So a needs assessment evaluation is my first recommendation.

Regulatory mandate for multi-cultural education. I teach at a state university. Every time it comes time for accreditation, they take me out as one of the tokens. "See we have multi-cultural education, we have Andy Chen here." It's unfortunate, because the rest of the time we go back to our routine. The only way to change this is to make a mandatory requirement for teacher education, school personnel, counsellors, superintendents. Whoever has to be certified has to meet a requirement for multi-cultural training. Basically the objective is to have all the school personnel culturally sensitive or ethnically informed. That would be my second recommendation.

Third is commitment. That is one thing I don't really like to mention, because it means money and funding. We talk a great deal about multi-cultural education, but this is the time we really must do something about multi-cultural education. I think we need to have outreach. To have a conference here in the state capital is fine, but we need to go where the minority groups are — in the hills of Pittsburgh, in downtown Philadelphia, wherever.

Number four is some kind of structural change in the state government—a reorganization of the Department of Education. I do not consider it sufficient just to have one person dealing with racial inequality. We have a big job to do and a long way to go. I think we need a division or bureau of multi-cultural education and to really address the need, to overhaul, to update curriculum, instruction and personnel.

Number five, referral for information and for services. One of the very impressive and informative speakers this morning was Dr. Prewitt Diaz, who talked about migrant children. Forty-one percent drop out of school. I think you and I have a responsibility to those children. If we cannot provide direct services, at least we should provide referrals to organizations or the federal government that have resources which can help those individuals.

Lastly, the idea of a network. A network among the government and private agencies, especially minority organizations because they are the resources, they are the experts, they are the consultants, and they are there ready to help the state. We have 39 ethnic commissioners to start with, who could serve to refer matters for multi-cultural education.

One of the areas which we are pursuing in the multi-cultural education subcommittee is ethnic languages school. We do plan to do a survey of ethnic language schools in Pennsylvania.

So this is my humble opinion and my recommendations to the Commission.

Tom Jones: Fortunately, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in terms of cultural conservation there is a lot that is already started. There are a lot of initiatives that have been occurring in the past and are currently in the works throughout the state involving not only the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission but also the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts. My suggestion is that we need to expand and improve a lot of those initiatives.

The report that has been issued that has been cited a number of times, by the federal government, and which was highlighted by Alan Jabbour, *Cultural Conservation*, is something that needs to be read not only by the people on the Heritage Affairs Commission but also by the historic preservation community throughout Pennsylvania. I come from that community. I've been involved in what is popularly termed "historic preservation" for over 20 years. I find a lack of understanding among the historic preservation advocates about cultural conservation but an almost immediate sensitivity (when it is brought to their attention) that the intangible cultural resources are as important as the tangible. That is not to say that the existing agencies have not been doing projects that have illustrated those concerns. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is one of the few places that runs a facility that deals with workers' history and ethnicity at the Eckley Miners Village. I've been able to travel around the world a little bit in the last four years, and there aren't many places where you can see that kind of heritage being highlighted and interpreted. We are doing it here in Pennsylvania, and I think it reflects an intuitive concern that exists within the Commonwealth.

There is intensive concern right now for industrial heritage, but we also need to be concerned about new immigrant groups. In the Lehigh Valley where I reside, there's a lot of recent information about the Hispanic community. Very little was known about it. It was the local newspaper, the *Morning Call*, that did the article. It wasn't the Historical Society. It was a concerned reporter who is non-Hispanic, and it was the first time in my community that there was a concerned dialogue.

Cultural conservation is critical because it provides the basis of information for us to understand each other. What we need to do is to coordinate and initiate more integrated surveys such as occurred at Grouse Creek in Utah, which was initiated by the American Folklife Center. This is something that we need to do more in Pennsylvania.

My strongest recommendation is to try and integrate ethnographic disciplines and historic preservation field research more in the Commonwealth and to produce more cultural surveys to understand what are the cultural resources of the Commonwealth. Often, when planning is done for cultural resources or community planning for development, it is done without a context. There is no information base to guide planners or historic preservationists about the true context of cultural resources that may exist within an area, be they representing an ethnic or work place heritage group that may be a hundred years old, or a 300 year heritage that may exist in the Pennsylvania Dutch farm communities in northern Berks county. But the same holds true among the Hmong communities that are settling in our urban centers. The information is not there and it is not being produced and disseminated to a larger audience.

Shalom Staub: So where do we go from here? Our immediate plans will be to prepare proceedings; to prepare a policy report that summarizes the recommendations that have been submitted this afternoon and others that we will get from the actual recordings and the notes that people will be providing to us; and to identify appropriate uses of the video tape to broaden the impact of the conference and help disseminate the material. That is the beginning. As Dr. Thuy correctly pointed out, the end of this conference is when the real work begins.

We need to form coalitions. We need to form partnerships with public agencies at all levels, with private organizations, with community based organizations and individuals. We need to work to address the concerns of small communities, small community organizations that may currently feel they do not have the resources to participate. If there's a role for the Heritage Affairs Commission, and I appreciate both the remark about our raises and the expanded staff, but currently the role of the agency, is not that of a funding agency or that of a regulatory agency. We are an agency of conscience. We are a thorn in the side of the larger agencies that continues to prick and ask difficult questions and force re-examination of assumptions and issues. If we continue to meet that role and work with the agencies that are powerful in their regulatory responsibilities, in their grant and loan programs, in the direction that they provide, and in the initiatives that they offer,

if we continue to push for "participatory planning" that involves the gathering of perspectives from all levels—not assuming that we know the answers, not assuming that we know how something is going to affect a community or group of individuals, but to be sure that those perspectives are represented at all levels of planning and program development and program monitoring—then our role as an agency of conscience will, I believe, have a much greater impact. Will we have another conference here next year? No. The reason simply is there is too much that we have assembled in these last two days, too many perspectives that have to be brought to others and too much work to do just to take what we have learned here and see its impact. If we immediately need to organize another conference like this we will never implement the actual work that needs to be done. We can, however, explore the possibility of regional meetings, topical meetings, or smaller scale meetings with a tighter focus on local communities.

We have our work to do at the Commission—at the level of the staff and at the level of the Commissioners. I charged you at the beginning of the conference and as you went into the discussion groups, you have your role, too. I believe that role is to be the partners to work with us in our efforts to work with other state agencies, to communicate these messages so that these agencies know that it is not some crazy agency over there called the Heritage Affairs Commission which nobody quite understands anyway, but rather that this group, this agency, this set of commissioners, this group of staff members is tied into constituents and is able to represent constituents because we have the constituent support. The radical restructuring that we have talked about in some cases, I'm thinking of Harry Aponte and Moses Williams, I'm thinking of some of the perspectives on inter-ethnic relations and education, this radical restructuring is only in part a restructuring of the actual programs that exist already. This radical restructuring is a restructuring of the way we begin to think about society, the way we begin to think about our role in society and the role of government. Whether we call upon the media to assist us, whether we call upon corporate partners, this is the course that is before us. With your help, I believe, the Heritage Affairs Commission can make a difference. Thank you for participating in our conference. I want to thank our Commissioners, my staff, and all of you, the participants, for your attendance and your contribution of ideas and suggestions.

Governor's Conference on Ethnicity
Policy Recommendations

Conservation of Cultural Heritage Resources

Inter-Agency Cooperation

a. Develop training programs for appropriate state employees to increase sensitivity and awareness of ethnicity in Pennsylvania and to encourage conservation of cultural heritage resources.

b. Encourage state agencies to integrate conservation of cultural heritage resources into their programs and policies.

c. Establish work-group to clarify and implement cultural conservation initiatives, composed of staff from the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, Department of Environmental Resources and Department of Community Affairs. Work group should examine roles, funding responsibilities, and programs.

Integrated Cultural Heritage Impact Statement

a. Develop an Integrated Cultural Heritage Impact Statement (Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission) to protect the Commonwealth's tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources as part of required Environmental Impact Statement.

Role of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission

a. Advocate for community-level involvement in decision-making process.

b. Utilize the Commission and its Cultural Heritage Advisory Council to advise all state agencies on all state-funded ethnic heritage projects for appropriateness and accuracy.

Funding

a. Review current state funding resources (Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Department of Commerce - Bureau of Travel Development, Pennsylvania Humanities Council) to determine accessibility to ethnic communities for cultural conservation projects.

b. Investigate, recommend and implement new mechanisms for the funding of cultural heritage conservation, e.g., public/private partnerships, percentage system linked to tourism profits, endowments.

c. Expand the range of public workshops for funding resources. Encourage funding agencies to work more cooperatively to implement these workshops throughout the state.

d. Establish a "mentor" program to pair newcomer groups with older, established ethnic communities to encourage community planning and development of cultural conservation projects.

e. Establish incentives and programs for local governments, museums and libraries to develop local cultural heritage conservation programs, including resource centers.

f. Support creation of Folklife as a funding program at the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts as well as continued funding support for ethnic arts projects through discipline-based programs by identifying and appointing qualified panel members.

g. Encourage the Governor to appoint members to the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts sensitive to the diversity of Pennsylvania's population and committed to supporting multicultural arts.

Local Cultural Conservation Programs

a. Encourage counties and other units of local government to contract professionally trained personnel (eg. historian, folklorist, anthropologist) to collect local history and ethnic heritage resource materials and advise on appropriate local programming efforts.

b. Libraries should be encouraged to assume a key role in local cultural conservation efforts, e.g. through the assignment of a section or room devoted to local heritage collection, or as site for local programs.

Culturally Sensitive Delivery of Health Care and Human Services

Training

a. Conduct a survey to assess the availability of training and practice of cross-cultural skills in health care and human service delivery.

b. Institutionalize cultural competence training and assessment in the training programs for the range of health care and human service providers.

c. Link cultural sensitivity training to the appropriation of state funding to provider agencies and training centers.

d. Require cultural sensitivity training as an integral part of the training of professionals and as a requirement for licensure of professionals.

e. Establish public-funded educational fellowships to broaden the representation of racial and ethnic groups in professional and provider positions.

f. Identify students with interest in health careers and provide support to encourage them to pursue appropriate training and service within Pennsylvania.

State-wide Network/Clearinghouse

a. Establish local and state-wide networks (with newsletter) among health and human service professionals committed to culturally appropriate delivery of service

b. Establish local and state-wide network of "cultural brokers" - ethnic community leaders able to mediate language and cultural barriers with social and health service agencies.

c. Disseminate information about these "cultural brokers" to service providers.

Cultural Impact Statement

a. Develop guidelines for a "cultural impact statement" to assess impact and competency of social service and health care agencies in addressing ethnic profile of their region as part of the review process in evaluating proposals submitted..

b. Require "cultural impact statements" for all human service and health care funding programs.

Culturally Appropriate Policies and Service Delivery

a. Culturally competent delivery of human services must recognize respectfully the existing indigenous services within ethnic communities.

b. Include non-technologically based approaches to restore humanistic, holistic and culturally-based dimensions of health and human services.

c. Include persons who utilize services in program planning and policy formulation.

d. Consider the need for, and greater utilization of competent and appropriate language interpreters in health and human services as mandated by non-discrimination statutes, with guidelines for accuracy of translation and confidentiality.

e. Establish a complaint hotline with procedures to insure accountability.

f. Develop agency measures and standards to report on outreach efforts to ethnic communities.

g. Disseminate a "Cultural Competency Self-Assessment Questionnaire" to be used by agency administrators to assess the effectiveness of their agency in reflecting and responding to the ethnic profile of their service area.

h. State funding should be linked to ongoing agency efforts to reflect the ethnic profile of their service area in the composition of agency staff, administrators and boards.

Inter-Ethnic Relations

Promote Awareness of Ethnic Cultural Traditions

a. Encourage multi-cultural programming efforts to promote awareness of one's own cultural traditions (and enhance self-esteem) and those of others (and encourage greater understanding and tolerance). Special efforts should be targeted to develop positive cultural programming drawing together communities experiencing ethnic tension.

b. Establish multi-cultural education as a requirement within Pennsylvania's teachers' colleges to promote better-prepared educators to address multi-culturalism in the classroom.

c. Recruit sports and entertainment figures to reach large audiences of young people with an anti-bigotry message.

d. Encourage distribution of Ethnic Heritage Video Series (WPSX-TV — Columbus Quincentenary Project) to Pennsylvania schools and libraries.

e. Establish one month during the year to become the focus of inter-group relations through governor's proclamation. Encourage each local community to develop appropriate educational and civic activities.

f. Require schools at all levels to develop materials and programs to address three goals: fighting all forms of bigotry, enhancing healthy group identity, and improving inter-ethnic relations.

Research

a. Encourage research on issues of inter-ethnic relations. Of special importance is research which addresses policy and program impact.

Training

a. Develop and provide training programs for government, corporate, civic, ethnic and religious leaders for effective multi-cultural communication, training in conflict resolution, and skills of coalition building.

b. Follow corporate example by implementing "Value of Diversity in the Workplace" seminars for state agencies.

c. Target youth-serving agencies to implement racial and ethnic relations programs.

d. Create and train teams to go into school districts to work with young people to sensitize them to different cultures in their community and how to address ethnic tension situations.

e. Encourage teacher continuing education efforts focused on multi-cultural education.

Response to Ethnic Tension Situations

a. Establish tension control networks of mediators and community representatives who are trained in conflict resolution to respond to bias-related situations.

b. Encourage media to avoid sensationalism in reporting tension situations.

c. Organize Inter-Ethnic Tension Reduction Teams throughout the state to respond to tension incidents.

d. Encourage the establishment of Human Relations Commissions in every city.

Monitoring

a. Monitor and publish monthly hate crime data as compiled by law enforcement agencies.

b. Develop neighborhood assessment guides to be used by local or state agencies or community leaders to measure inter-ethnic tension.

Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission

a. Continue to develop and disseminate computerized database of ethnic resources in Pennsylvania.

b. Expand the current database to an annotated ethnic resource directory.

c. Develop a subscription-based dissemination procedure of the Commission's ethnic resource directory on computer disk with quarterly updates.

d. Develop a new conference program devoted to inter-ethnic relations.

e. Continue to honor persons, especially young people, who have made special contributions to improving inter-ethnic relations in our state.

f. Designate one month as Ethnic Harmony and Understanding Month, with state-wide educational programs

g. Train commissioners and staff to serve as mediators in ethnic tension situations.

h. Assign ethnic commissioners to participate in ethnic intimidation response training programs coordinated by the Inter-Agency Task Force on Civil Tension.

Organization of Ongoing State-Wide Resource Network

a. Utilize network for development and dissemination of materials to concerned agencies dealing with inter-ethnic relations.

Multi-Cultural Education

Multi-Cultural Education Policy and Programs at the Pennsylvania Department of Education

a. The Department of Education shall establish a bureau or an office of multi-cultural education to facilitate the development of appropriate policy, programs and services.

b. The bureau or office of multi-cultural education shall serve as the clearinghouse in disseminating and collecting multi-cultural education resources and information.

c. The Governor should appoint a 15 member Multi-Cultural Education Task Force which would be charged with the development of a 10 year multi-cultural education plan and monitor its implementation.

d. Encourage school districts to use textbooks which reflect Pennsylvania's multi-cultural heritage with accuracy and sensitivity.

Formulation of Multi-Cultural Education Policy

a. Conduct a state-wide assessment on the theories and practice of multi-cultural education in Pennsylvania for K-12, higher education and adult education.

b. Establish a committee/work-group/commission with goals and timetables to investigate and make policy and program recommendations related to multi-cultural education.

c. Compile existing models of standards, regulations and procedures for multi-cultural education nationally and internationally (eg., Canada) and develop recommendations for Pennsylvania implementation.

d. Organize a state-wide conference dealing specifically with multi-cultural education.

Cultural Sensitivity Training

a. Require school districts to conduct workshops and training programs on multi-cultural education for school board members, faculty and administrators, and all school related personnel such as counselors, nurses and school bus drivers. Involve local ethnic community representatives in these workshops and training programs.

Certification and Regulatory Standards

a. Provide testimony to Chapter 5 curriculum regulations review committee in Fall 1990 to strengthen guidelines and mandates for multi-cultural education.

b. Require multi-cultural education standards in all teacher preparation programs.

c. Require multi-cultural education in teacher certification standards at all levels of teaching.

d. Require multi-cultural education standards in school counselor, principal and superintendent certification programs.

e. Reassess current certification for foreign language instructors and develop alternative certification process.

f. Provide certification for multi-cultural education specializations.

g. Recognize and support ethnic language and heritage schools with academic credit and funding. Create language competency tests to allow students in such schools to receive credit for their years of language acquisition.

Organization of Ongoing State-Wide Resource and Lobbying Network

a. Utilize network for development and dissemination of materials for teachers and administrators.

b. Maximize use of existing ethnic resources.

c. Establish network with ethnic associations and organizations of professional foreign-language educators.

d. Increase partnership between public and private sectors to support multi-cultural education.

e. Seek funding to support these activities.

f. Oppose "English-Only" legislation in the Pennsylvania Legislature in recognition of the Commonwealth's multi-cultural, multi-lingual heritage.

Instruction

a. Develop multi-cultural education curricula which emphasize attitude, skill and concept development as well as content and fact acquisition.

b. Establish state-wide contests (eg. posters or essays) on multi-cultural education among students at elementary, secondary and higher education institutions.

c. Establish requirements and increase emphasis on foreign language instruction at all levels of education.

d. Create opportunities for greater exposure of the traditional arts of diverse ethnic communities in school arts curricula and in other disciplinary areas.

Public/Private Partnerships

a. State government and local school districts should explore the formation of partnerships with private business and industry in the promotion of multi-cultural education.

b. Pennsylvania Department of Education should form networks with various ethnic communities as human resources for providing cultural sensitivity/competency training for local school districts.

Educational Needs of Migrant Workers's Children and New Immigrants/Refugees

a. The Commonwealth shall provide direct services and/or referral to appropriate agencies for children of migrant families, newly arrived immigrants and refugees.

b. The Commonwealth shall provide bilingual education to limited English proficiency (LEP) and English as a Second Language (ESL) students, with appropriately trained and certified instructors.

c. Local school districts should utilize vacant school facilities for summer bilingual and multicultural education programs run by local ethnic organizations.

The Role of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission

a. Establish the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission through legislative authorization and mandate as the institutional embodiment of the Commonwealth's commitment to issues of culture and pluralism.

b. Strengthen funding to the Commission to enable its members and staff to meet the goals outlined in this report.

c. Review the relationship of ethnic commissioners to their communities; ensure that communities are appropriately represented and informed of Commission activities.

d. Commissioners should commit to meet with broad range of organizations within their own ethnic community to ascertain their concerns and needs to insure adequate representation to the Commission.

e. The Governor should consider regional balance in Commission appointments. The appointment of ethnic commissioners should ensure that different regions of the Commonwealth are represented in successive terms.

f. The Commission should hold full meetings with greater frequency, and consider the possibility of weekend meetings to allow more time per meeting.

g. Increase efforts to disseminate and coordinate Heritage Affairs Commission policy issues and program activities with other state agencies.

h. Conduct regional meetings of the Commission, or hearings, to ascertain regional and local issues and needs.

i. Expand Commission's public outreach efforts to broaden the impact of the Commission's work.

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